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ABSTRACT

Various aspects of Indian education are treated in the two poems and 12 articles that constitute this issue of "Thresholds in Education." An article entitled "Indian Self-Determination and Indian Education" charts the growth of the self-determination movement, the influence of cultural pluralism, and the increasing involvement of Indians in their educational processes. "Rough Rock Demonstration School: The First Indian Contract School" tells of program design, administration, and funding difficulties encountered in a school totally controlled by its Navajo community. "Little Big Horn High School and Preschool" describes the development and implementation of urban Native American education programs in Chicago. Also included is Lyman Pierce's "Trends in Indian Education: The Views of an Urban Native American Community Leader". Three articles deal with cross cultural education in Alaska; one cites factors accounting for the success of parochial schools in meeting the educational needs of Eskimo and Indian students, the other two describe learning opportunities for native adults. Other titles include "Landmarks on the Path of Indian Education", "The Johnson O'Malley Act in the Evolution of Native American Education", "Higher Education: a New Arena for Native Americans", and "Facets of Racism and Native American Culture". (DS)

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VOL. IV NO. 2 MAY 1978

THRESHOLDS IN EDUCATION

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EDUCATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS TODAY

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THESE ARE MY PEOPLE

These are my people —
Speaking and being heard
Through painting, drawing
and writing.
They express their feelings
Wanting and giving in hope
and prayer,
Dancing and singing in a new
way,
With a new way of fighting,
A new way of giving.

We are the Indians of tomorrow,
We are the Indians of today.

What we have lost shall be
regained.
Yes, these are my people
My brothers and sisters,
Fathers and mothers.
As we sleep under the heavens
In the light of our grandmother,
the moon
Through visions and dreams,
we shall
Shape our once lost world.
We have not forgotten yesterday.

We are the Indians of tomorrow.
We are the Indians of today.

—Rhonda Holy Bear

Rhonda Holy Bear is a Native American student at Little Big Horn High School in Chicago. "These Are My People" originally appeared in **Walking Leaves**, Chicago, Little Big Horn High School, Volume 6, No. 6, March, 1977.

►►►Credit for Artwork from Ed Heffernan, art teacher, and students at Little Big Horn High School

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THRESHOLDS IN EDUCATION

May. 1978
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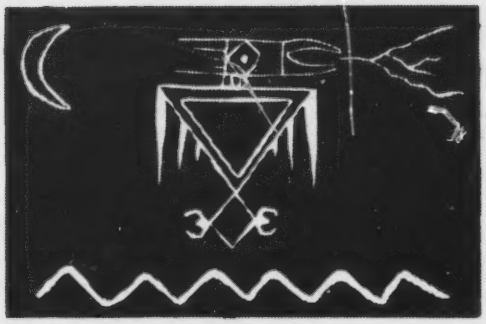

Indian Self-Determination And Indian Education

By Robert J. Havighurst

Since 1960 there has been a rapid growth of school and college enrollments of Indian youth, together with tentative movements toward greater initiative and responsibility by Indian communities for the administration of their schools. An example of what this policy signified to a responsible Indian leader is given in the following statement by the former Tribal Chairman of the Northern Cheyenne, Mr. John Woodenlegs, in 1970:

> For over a year I have spent most of my time working on education, serving as a member of the National Indian Education Advisory Committee, as an education field worker for the American Association on Indian Affairs, as a member of one public school board, and an ex-officio member of an advisory school board.
>
> Our goals have been:
>
> 1. To educate our schools and the local communities to the idea of community schools, serving the needs of the local people over and above daily education of children.
> 2. To encourage parents to be more concerned and involved with the schools, including active membership on school boards.
> 3. To help teachers get more knowledge of the Cheyennes, their past history and culture and present life.
> 4. To encourage Cheyenne resource people to go into classrooms to talk on history and culture.

We feel our children need education which gives the best of both cultures. We feel that many of the values of our past Cheyenne society can still serve us well in this modern world. We feel we need this to give us understanding and pride in our past, just as other Americans learn their history for the same reason. (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972, p. 20)

Types of Schools Attended by Indian Youth. In 1978 there are about 275,000 Indians aged 6-17, inclusive, and about 90 percent of them are enrolled in school. There are four categories or types of schools. Except for the first category, these are not "official" and there are no official data on the numbers of students, but they can be estimated with reasonable accuracy. The types, with numbers of Indian pupils, are:

	Enrollment	Percent of Total Group
A. Schools with practically all-Indian enrollment:		
Bureau of Indian Affairs operated boarding and day schools	47,000	17%
Indian Controlled School Boards: Contract with BIA (est)	2,500	1%
Mission or other private schools	9,000	3%
Public schools operating on or contiguous to reservations	30,000	11%
B. Public Schools with 50 to 90 percent Indian enrollment		
Contiguous to Indian reservations or in native communities	105,000	38%
C. Public schools with 10 to 50 percent Indian enrollment:		
Mainly in rural communities and small cities	50,000	18%
D. Public schools with 1 to 10 percent Indian enrollment:		
Mainly in large cities	30,000	11%

Thus the educational picture is very complicated. But one thing should be clear. Practically all native Americans between the ages of 6 and 17 inclusive have access to schools and attend schools almost as fully, in terms of proportions attending school by age, as do the Anglos, the Spanish descent groups, and the blacks.

The Policy of Self-Determination. The policy of the American Government toward Indians since about 1890 has undergone a radical change. At the beginning of the century the policy was to **assimilate** the Indians into the economic mainstream of American

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Robert J. Havighurst is Professor of Education and Human Development at the University of Chicago. From 1968-1970 he was Director of the National Study of American Indian Education. He is author of the chapter, "Indian Education Since 1960," appearing in the March, 1975 **Annals**, entitled **American Indians Today.** He is co-author of **To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education.**

society, through dividing their reservation land into individual allotments and encouraging them to become independent farmers. This did not work successfully, and was not undertaken with much vision or effort by the federal government officials. The "Indian New Deal" of 1934 to about 1948 was a program under commissioner John Collier to give greater power to Indian Tribes to determine their economic and educational future, but this lost momentum during the decade of the 1950s, when the federal government moved to terminate a number of Indian reservations by selling the land and dividing the tribal funds among the individual tribal members. At the same time the government encouraged the migration of Indians to industrial cities by providing money for vocational training and subsistence during the training period.

This policy of assimilation did not suit many Indian leaders, and the 1960s saw a new effort by the federal government to work out a more satisfactory Indian policy. The Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, in 1961 appointed a Task Force to advise him on Indian policy. This was followed in 1966 by a White House Task Force on Indian Affairs, appointed by President Johnson. At that time Senator George McGovern of South Dakota introduced a concurrent resolution in the Congress which stressed a policy of Indian self-determination and economic development. In March, 1968, President Johnson sent a message to Congress on Indian Affairs which stressed the government's policy of supporting a stronger Indian voice in Indian affairs, directed the BIA to establish school boards at all federal schools, and created a National Commission on Indian Opportunity, containing Indian leaders. At this time the United States Senate appointed a Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, headed by Senator Robert Kennedy, and later by Senator Edward Kennedy. This committee held hearings for eighteen months and issued a report urging increased Indian control over education.

Meanwhile, aside from the political scene, there had occurred the following:

American Indian Chicago Conference. **The Voice of the American Indian: Declaration of Indian Purpose.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Commission on Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian. Financed by the Fund for Republic (Ford Foundation). Report: **A Program for Indian Citizens,** 1961.

A National Study of Indian Education, financed by the U.S. Office of Education was directed by Professor Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago, and involved teams from seven universities studying 26 Indian communities and 39 schools. 1968-70.

The 1970 Presidential message on Indian Affairs. The almost complete official acceptance of a policy of self-determination was laid out in detail in President Nixon's message to Congress on July 8, 1970. Before this date there had been much action by individual tribes in their negotiations with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Most thoroughgoing was the series of contracts made by the Zuni Tribe of New Mexico earlier in 1970 which empowered the tribe to administer all the programs formerly operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The President's Message commences with such general statements as: "It is long past time that the Indian policies of the Federal Government began to recognize and build upon the capacities and insights of the Indian people." The main points of the Message are:

> The Indian tribes should have self-determination over their own affairs without termination of their reservation status and their tribal unity. The Indian tribes should have the right to control and operate federal programs, including schools.
>
> The Federal Government should assist financially in projects for economic development of Indian groups.
>
> A substantial increase in funding of the U.S. Public Health Service for Indians.
>
> Assistance to urban Indians through the operation of service centers in major cities.

The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, who directed the Bureau of Indian Affairs, under Presidents Johnson and Nixon and Ford were for the first time Indians: Robert Bennett, a member of the Oneida Tribe; Louis R. Bruce, Mohawk-Sioux; and Morris Thompson, Athabascan from Alaska..

Cultural Pluralism as the Basic Policy. Education of Indians since 1965 has been powerfully influenced by the broad policy known as **cultural pluralism** which has dominated American interethnic relations. More in the limelight have been the forces working for recognition of the rights and privileges of the two largest ethnic groups—the blacks and the Spanish-origin people. There has also been a rising chorus of voices of European ethnic groups from the east and south of Europe—the Poles, Slavs, Italians and Greeks. These movements have been antagonistic toward the goal of the melting pot, which would reduce ethnic differences in America. This has been replaced by the goal of **cultural pluralism,** which has three principle characteristics:

1. Mutual respect and appreciation for each cultural group by other groups.
2. Collaboration in government and economic affairs of the country.
3. Self-determination in all matters of importance, as far as possible, and without infringing the rights of other groups.

Educational Self-Determination. Early in the decade of the 1970s, the federal government provided funds which would assist native Americans to reform and direct their educational systems. **The Indian Education Act of 1972** and its successor, the **Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975** provide money and require Indian direction

and Indian responsibility for the design of programs. The Bilingual Education Act, part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act since 1967, provides funds for the employment of teaching staff who speak the local home language in Indian and Eskimo communities.

In 1975 the Congress created the **American Indian Policy Review Commission** and instructed it to get a perspective on the status of American Indians in the United States. The Commission made its Final Report in the summer of 1977. There were five Indian leaders on the Commission and six members of Congress, as follows:

Indian Commissioners

John Borbridge, Jr.; Tlingit-Haida
Louis Bruce; Mohawk,
Oglala Sioux
Ada Deer; Menominee
Adolph Dial; Lumbee
Jake Whitecrow; Quapaw,
Seneca-Cayuga

Members of Congress

James Abourezk, South Dakota
Lloyd Meeds, Washington
Lee Metcalf, Montana
Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon
Sidney R. Yates, Illinois
Sam Steiger, Arizona

The work of the Commission was done by eleven Task Forces, including one on Indian Education, which consisted of four Indian educators and staff members.

The Commission recommended that all government-aided Indian programs should be brought together under a federal Indian Department or Independent Agency, reporting to the office of the President. The Congress should enact legislation that would aid tribal governments and Indian communities to take responsibility for control of education in accordance with their desires. Among other objectives is that of recruiting and training Indians to serve as teachers in practically all schools with a predominantly Indian enrollment.

Initiative has already been taken by several hundred Indian organizations which have sought and received money from the federal government for educational programs. For example, under the Indian Education Act and for fiscal year 1976, approximately $18 million was given to School and Tribal education projects in the form of 210 separate grants, aimed to supplement existing education programs and to train Indian personnel for work in the schools.

This amplifies the program which was started in the late 1960s, whereby the Bureau of Indian Affairs contracted with a local Indian school board on a Reservation to give the money that would have gone to pay expenses of a BIA-operated school to the Indian Board which would take responsibility for the school. The first and best-known of these contract schools is the Rough Rock School on the Navaho Reservation. This school is governed by a 5-person School Board, all Navahos and only one having any schooling. The school starts teaching in the Navaho language, and devotes a good deal of attention to Navaho tradition and Navaho arts. John Dick, one of the first school board members, said:

> We want our children to be proud of being Navajos. We want them to know who they are...In the future they will have to be able to make many choices and do many different things. They need a modern education to make their way, but they have to know both worlds—and being Navajo will give them strength. (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972, p. 253)

By 1975 there were 15 of these Indian-contracted schools boards, which had banded together into a **Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards.**

As schooling was brought more and more to the reservations, the proportion of Indian youth in school reached the level of other minority groups and of the dominant Anglo group.

After 1960, larger proportions of Indian youth began to attend post-secondary institutions. This proportion probably multiplied five-fold between 1960 and 1970. Approximately 8,000 Indian students were in universities or post-secondary colleges in 1970. This constituted about 12 percent of the number in the Indian age group from 18 through 21. At that date, about 35 percent of an age-group finished secondary school, 20 percent entered a university-level institution and another 10 percent entered a post-secondary institution for vocational training; and 5 percent graduated from universities with a bachelor's degree based on four years of study. These are all rather high figures, compared with other American groups with low family incomes. A major reason was the availability of money to help pay for this kind of education—money provided both by the federal government and by a number of tribal councils. The BIA in 1969 awarded scholarship grants to 3,432 young people, with an average of $868 per student. By 1975 the number of scholarship awards had increased to 15,000 with an average of $1,750 per student. In that year there were 1,497 graduates from four-year colleges who had received BIA scholarships. Of this number, 335 had been trained for teaching, and 198 for health service work. The BIA had a record of 48 Indian studies programs in as many colleges and universities in 1971. The following institutions all had fifty or more Indian students per year in the period 1966-70; University of Alaska, Northern Arizona University (Flagstaff), Fort Lewis College (Colorado), University of New Mexico, Phoenix (Arizona) Community College, Pembroke State University (North Carolina), University of Montana, Northern Montana College, Central Washington State College, Northeastern State College of Oklahoma, Brigham Young University (Utah), and the Navaho Community College.

The Navaho Community College is a creation of the Navaho Tribe, and is not supported financially by the federal government. Founded in 1968, the College has been built amid sage brush, pinon and juniper trees on the arid Arizona landscape, with the Likachukai Mountains in the background.

Navaho Community College accepts and recognizes the reality of and the persistence of Indian culture and institutions. It holds that uniquely Indian values, skills, and insights are highly functional in the modern world today, and just as Indian knowledge contributed to the survival of European settlers in the New World, so today, Indians have much to contribute to the sur-

vival of American and world society. Navaho Community College is based upon the assumption that not only is it possible for Navahos to direct and control their own institutions, but that this is the only way they ever will be able to assume total responsibility and self-support, at least as a group.

The Alaska Native Land Claims and Education. The year 1971 marked the most comprehensive and favorable legal settlement of native people's claims to land and its resources yet seen—the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The educational implications and results of this Act have profound significance for Alaskan natives and for the question of the viability of a policy of cultural pluralism for Indians.

Here, for the first time, very large economic resources are placed in the hands of native people with very few external controls over the way they use those resources. The United States Congress recognized the right of Alaskan natives to land and mineral resources, restored 40 million acres of land to native ownership, and promised to pay $962.5 million for land taken over by the state and federal governments. There are approximately 55,000 Eskimos, Aleuts and Indians living in Alaska, and another 20,000 living outside of Alaska, and having one-fourth or more Alaska Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo ancestry. As of the date of passage of the Act, there were approximately 76,500 "Alaskan natives" of all ages entitled to equal shares of the land and money. These people as individuals will not receive large money grants. Over the 20-year period from 1971 to 1991, most of them will receive less than $1,500 apiece. The valuable thing they receive is 100 shares in one of twelve Native Regional Corporations which take title to the land and which keep for investment purposes 90 percent of the money paid under the Act. Also, the Regional Corporations must distribute almost half of their income to some 200 native villages which will form corporations to select land, possibly invest money, or use money income to provide services to village residents.

The Regional Corporations were formed as quickly as possible after the passage of the Act, and have been using the approximately $200 million they received from the government in the first five years to invest in productive enterprizes—such as hotels, supermarkets, mineral exploration, reindeer herds, fish canneries.

The stock in the Regional Corporations cannot be sold in the market until 1991, twenty years after the passage of the Act. At that time, the youngest stock holder will be twenty years old (having been born on or before the day of the passage of the Act by Congress). The money value of the stock will then depend on the investment experience of the corporations, just as it does for any other business corporation. Since every Indian, Aleut and Eskimo in Alaska has become a "capitalist" by virtue of the Act, there will be a need to understand this complicated process. One educational consequence has been the publication of a high school textbook, **Alaska Native Land Claims,** by economist-educator Robert D. Arnold, sponsored by the Alaska Native Foundation.

Educational effects of the Act are already seen in the training of employees of the Regional and Village Corporations, in the Corporations' selection of officers who have some business or technological experience or training. Several vocational schools have come into existence—such as the school at Barrow, farthest north settlement in the USA, and capital city of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. Furthermore, an Eskimo university, Inupiaq University, was founded at Barrow, to serve as a kind of Community College, with representatives in a dozen villages on the Arctic Slope, and with courses taken by correspondence for those who could not get to a class.

Conclusion. Although cultural pluralism and Indian self-determination are now joint goals of the United States Government and the major Indian tribal organizations, the next ten years present a somewhat open future, in which there will be some important choices for Indians to make. There seem to be three alternatives, and all three will be tried by some Indian groups and individuals:

1. *A subsistence economy based on local resources of land and sea.* On most of the Indian reservations the people make a bare living from farming and stockraising. With a high birth-rate, these communities have to send some of their children to make a living in urban areas.

2. *The development of local land, sea, and mineral resources, using modern technology.* This is being done in several areas, especially the Southwest and Alaska. Mineral resources: oil, natural gas, coal, and uranium are bringing royalties into the tribal treasuries, and providing jobs as well as money for college scholarship expenses.

3. *Young Indians moving into the economic mainstream, by securing high school and college education, and the jobs that will open to them.* This is a pattern for urban youth.◄

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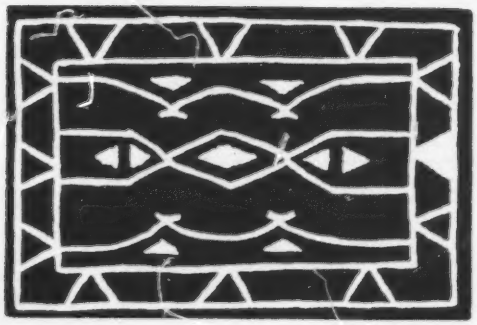
Rough Rock Demonstration School:
The First Indian Contract School



By Ethelou Yazzie

The need, philosophy and guiding principles for Indian education today must, of necessity, vary from Indian community to community. No one statement or philosophy will hold true everywhere in the country. That is why the importance of Rough Rock Demonstation School cannot be overestimated.

This year (1978), the community of Rough Rock has completed the first eleven years of what was once considered an extremely radical approach to education: total community control.

As the first of the contract schools, its successes, its failures and its tenacity and continued growth over the years have proved that only the people in each Indian community know and understand what form of education the children in the community need.

Since Rough Rock began its "demonstration of community controlled education" in 1966, other communities all over the country have followed the Rough Rock ideal and have begun to contract for their own educational institutions.

In 1966, Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr. came to Rough Rock to help the community form a non-profit corporation called a "Demonstration in Navajo Education," or DINE, Inc. (In the Navajo language, "dine" means "the people.")

To demonstrate the advantages and/or disadvantages inherent in the community control concept of education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity awarded DINE, Inc. operational funds and a new three million dollar elementary school complex just completed at Rough Rock.

The Rough Rock community elected four men and one woman to its first locally elected school board. These people from the community, only one of whom had any formal education at all, represented local and true control over the school.

Since then, the Rough Rock School Board has continued to accept, reject and modify all proposals and programs to fit the Navajo way. Their wisdom has resulted in a bilingual/bicultural form of education that has had influence throughout the world. Hundreds of visitors come yearly to see how the Navajo language and culture is used as an academic base to enhance, enrich and facilitate children's progress in the academic world.

Under the direction of the locally elected board, the school has grown from a K-5 facility into a daycare through college complex.

Ethelou Yazzie is a member of the Navajo tribe and Director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School.

These life-wise people have had the wisdom to shape the school into an innovative experimental institution—the first of its kind in the country.

Rough Rock students come primarily from traditional Navajo families living within a fifteen mile radius of the school. Most families live in the traditional Navajo hogan camp, most without electricity, and most must haul their water for family use in by truck from the nearest pure water source.

A few students come from large cities across the country to stay as boarding students to learn the language and culture of their people. About one-third of the children are boarding students, since the roads to their homes are often just tracks in the desert plateau—impassible in wet weather. Despite these conditions, many boarding students manage to get home every weekend.

Community people run the dormitories and the kitchens. They stand in as parents to the children who live there. Traditional stories are told in the dorms in the winter months. The counselors cooperate with the medicine men to counsel children in all three schools—elementary, middle and high school.

Here there is little separation between home and school. Upon entering the system (from daycare through roughly the second grade), the child is taught in Navajo.

Classes at the primary and intermediate levels are individualized and ungraded. (The School Board ordered a return to graded classrooms for the fall of 1978, however.) During a transition period (roughly third and fourth grade) the children are taught in both English and Navajo, with gradually increasing use of English, until at the middle school level it becomes the major language of instruction. Nevertheless, English is considered a second language throughout the child's school career.

In all classrooms, at all levels, bilingual aides and teachers help the child work through academic problems and complex concepts in both languages.

Parents in traditional dress work alongside the teachers, many of whom are now Navajos and who also wear traditional clothing when it suits them. The child learns to be proud of his heritage, and to take competent teaching from his community members for granted.

Navajos fill most of the administrative positions at Rough Rock and more than 60 percent of the teaching positions. Parents working as teacher aides, as well as kitchen, dormitory and supportive staff all come from the local community or nearby. Some former students of Rough Rock Demonstration School now hold jobs here.

For more than ten years now, Rough Rock Demonstration School has been an example and a source of hope for other communities which felt they too could develop a school to meet the special cultural needs of their own children and youth. The goal of education at Rough Rock Demonstration School consists not only of acquiring skills and proficiency in school subjects commonly taught, and in learning the Navajo language and culture, but in assisting Navajo children and youth to "become" in a manner that will allow them to be of maximum service to themselves and others throughout their lives. Thus, the Navajo people of Rough Rock are determined that their children will be both comfortable with, and proud of their heritage, and will look upon themselves and their people as persons of dignity and ability.

There is a vitality and hope in contract schools such as Rough Rock, Rock Point, Ramah, and Dibe Yazhi Habitiin Olta that is missing in other schools. There is also a great deal of work to be done, both in beginning a contract school, and in continuing its operation once the initial contracting phase is complete.

Rough Rock has had to adapt to attitude changes in the community and to continued reductions in funding. Yet the school has expanded and continues to grow, change, and develop new techniques to implement the community's ideas of what constitutes a suitable education for their children.

Navajo oral history tells that Spider Woman gave the Hero Twins advice and magic to protect them on their journey. It is our job to educate the grandchildren of the Holy People to meet the demands of the future. As educators, we must provide the tools they need to move in the world with confidence. It is our belief, at Rough Rock Demonstration School, that the best way to do this is to allow the community total control over the education of their own children.

The community has control only when it contracts for the funds necessary to keep its school going. The overriding problem facing Rough Rock and all other Indian contract schools, is the relationship to and dependency on the Bureau of Indian Affairs for continued funding.

We are very much concerned over the present organization of the Bureau. As it stands, it neglects and ignores the needs and responsibilities of contract education. The present arrangement for both operational and construction monies for contract schools is totally and completely inadequate, unfair and grossly unjust.

In spite of BIA rhetoric to the contrary, contract schools have no financial security. "Self-determination" is a meaningless slogan when it comes to contract education and the total dependence of that education on the good will of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The entire contracting procedure is conducted in a manner which denies contract schools equal educational opportunities compared to that underwritten by BIA schools. The very individuals in the contracting division whose responsibility it is to aid schools such as Rough Rock Demonstration School to achieve locally established objectives often are more eager to find reasons things **cannot** be done, rather than work to develop ways to do something new. And all too often Rough Rock and other contract schools do not know until well into the school year whether there will be a contract, or even the amount of the contract! Though our contract for the 1977-78 school year is well over 1.2 million dollars, negotiations were not finalized until well into the month of December. No other school system is in a comparable

position!

Congress has mandated that construction monies for contract education be obtained from and through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. However, the BIA has steadfastly refused to request such funds. Furthermore, the priority ranking system developed by the BIA refuses to take contract schools into account. Therefore, any annual BIA construction budget is grossly discriminatory against schools like Rough Rock, in as much as it is weighted in favor of BIA construction needs.

Rough Rock Demonstration School has recommended the following changes in the organization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to redress some of the lack of balance within that bureaucracy.

1) A properly staffed central office must be established and empowered to deal directly with contract schools. In other words, all responsibility for contract education must be removed from the agency and area level, and raised to the Washington level. It is imperative that this office be staffed with individuals who believe in and are familiar with contract education and are committed to making the community-controlled school a viable alternative for Indian people. Such an approach would only work if such an office were established with line capacity and were funded adequately.

2) All levels in the Bureau of Indian Affairs must be staffed with individuals who are philosophically and organizationally committed to Indian self-determination—even when such determination reduces or even eliminates Bureau schools.

It is ridiculous to preach Indian self-determination, and then have the operational level of the Bureau filled with individuals who don't give a damn what Indian people think; these people remain in the Bureau only to preserve their independent empires.

3) All Bureau of Indian Affairs educational systems, including adult education, higher education, vocational education, as well as elementary and secondary education, must be placed under a single head who has line authority over everything within the field of education.

The BIA likes to play musical chairs, and from commissioner to commissioner and from year to year, the pendulum swings back and forth. When Carl Marberger was head of BIA Education, he attempted to accomplish this without success. A case in point is the area of plant management. At times it has properly come under the control of Education, and at other times remains an independent division aloof from Education—as it is at present.

4) The BIA must assume leadership in opening channels of communication between the contract schools and the public schools. Thus competing and conflicting systems of education will be reduced, if not eliminated. No longer can Indian education allow the luxury of three independent and mutually exclusive systems of education to exist! Brave and bold leadership is needed in encouraging Indian self-determination so that there is a single system of Indian education—a single system of quality education rather than the present chaos.

Schools like Rough Rock and its neighbor, the Chinle Public School, are filled to over 200 percent of construction capacity. Meanwhile neighboring BIA schools are running at 60 percent of construction capacity.

The BIA is the only system of education that has and can get the monies to begin the lengthy dialogue between various types of schools and the Indian people themselves—a dialogue that is necessary to achieve quality as well as economy.

Rough Rock vigorously recommends that during the current reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the needs of the contract schools be adequately identified. Sufficient operational and construction monies must be provided on a regular and dependable basis. Affirmative steps must be taken within the organization to insure recognition and the resolution of local needs which face contract education.◀

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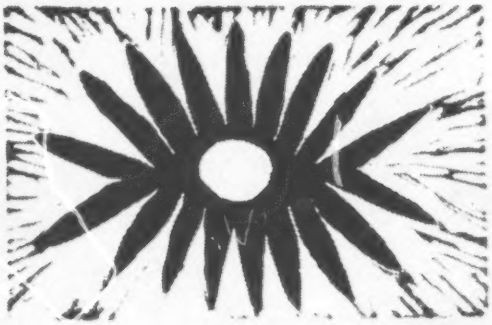
Little Big Horn High School And Preschool: Urban Education For Native Americans



Mark Dickenson

By Lucille St. Germaine

LITTLE BIG HORN...to many these words conjure up a variegated assortment of ideas. For some the Battle of the Little Big Horn is remembered when George Armstrong Custer's dreams of winning fame as an indian fighter and eventual ensconcement as President of the United States, bit the dust. To others it brings back the greatness of the military genius that planned and executed the pincer movement that annihilated the unwanted invaders. For Indians from hogan to teepee, from adobe to bark house, it was a time to take pride in the accomplishment of a united band of Indians fighting for their very life and survival.

For the native American in Chicago, LITTLE BIG HORN has become more than a few pages in the history books of the United States. It has become a name that not only lives in the pages of history but also a name that has taken on new vitality through the school that bears this name: THE LITTLE BIG HORN HIGH SCHOOL AND PRESCHOOL.

Many factors and events have combined to make the dreams and aspirations of Native Americans, especially those in Chicago, bear fruition. But it has been the establishment and control of a school where Indian boys and girls could build on their self-esteem and develop an awareness of their culture and heritage that has united Indians.

The bombing of Pearl Harbor escalated the move of young, restless Indian youth off the reservations. For many it opened the doors to a life they had never known. Return to reservation life was out of the question. The exodus had begun and it continues to this day.

Conservative estimates of the trek from reservations range from 38 percent to 50 percent. On page eight of the pamphlet, "We, the First Americans" published by the U.S. Department of Commerce in 1973, the following statements appear:

Nearly half of our (Native American) population—49.7—is concentrated in the West. More than a fourth of us are in the South, almost a fifth in the North Central region, and about 5 percent in the Northeast. Our people are leaving the reservations and rural areas for urban living in rapidly increasing numbers. In 1970, nearly half of us resided in urban areas: in 1960 the urban population was less than one third.

Another 213,770, or 28 percent of us, lived on 115 major reservations which the Census Bureau identified in 1970. The remainder of us lived on smaller reservations and in rural areas.

Some of us experience difficulty in adjusting to the pace and demands of big city life just as some other persons of rural background do. In our case this probably reflects, at least to some degree, the differences between our culture and the white man's. But in general, the Indian who lives in metropolitan areas gets more education, a better job, better housing, and

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higher pay than his brothers on reservations and in rural areas.

Perhaps the most influential piece of legislation that hastened to bring the statistics from one-third to 50 percent migration to the cities and urban areas were embodied in Eisenhower's Relocation Policy. Entire families were uprooted and sent to large metropolitan areas including Chicago, San Francisco, and Denver. Upon arrival in the city the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices took the fledgling families or individuals in tow and helped them find an apartment and a job. A certain amount of money was doled out for personal and household needs. The family, after the first paycheck came in, was largely left to its own devices. Many could not cope with the rent, the utilities, the buses and the myriad facets of living in the city. Some soon packed up their new belongings and returned to their homes on the reservations. Many, not wishing to hear the "I told you, you couldn't make it" routine, elected to rough it out in the city.

The children of the relocatees who stayed are now teenagers. It is to these youth and the high drop out rate among them that the Indian parents of Chicago addressed themselves. By late 1969 they had observed a 95 percent drop out rate among the two hundred or more high school students in Chicago. While seeking a better life for themselves, Indian families found that their children were amassing a depressing drop out rate. Thus it was that Indian parents, the Indian community, the American Indian Center's Education Committee, the Chicago Board of Education and concerned community people decided to take this particular bull by the horns.

In early 1970 over a hundred people gathered together at the American Indian Center, 1630 W. Wilson, Chicago, Illinois, to discuss the high drop out rate among Indian students both at the high school and grade school levels. One of the pertinent facts learned at this historic meeting was that no truant officer or counselor ever contacted the parents present at the meeting regarding the poor school attendance of their children. Students at the meeting spoke of constant harassment by non-Native American students when they found out that one was a Native American. Some of the Indian students, being low in numbers at the various schools, elected to drop out rather than face a battery of taunts and jeers about their ancestry. Many teachers joined their students in their harassment of the Indians in the classroom. For many Native Americans it was just too much. No amount of coercion could get these students back in the classroom.

The Chicago Board of Education, in concert with the people of the Indian community, drafted a proposal which would create a separate educational facility for Indians. This proposal, which was submitted to the U.S. Office of Education under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, would be under the fiscal jurisdiction of the Chicago Board of Education. All other matters—administration, staffing, personnel recruitment, site location—were to be handled by a Native American Advisory Council. This Council was to be elected by the community upon receipt of the grant. In 1970 the proposal was accepted by the Board of Education for submission to the U.S. Office of Education. In July of 1971 the initial grant was made. Thus, Little Big Horn School, consisting of a high school and a preschool, became a reality in Chicago.

The announcement of approval of the proposal and grant was made on radio and television. All of those on the original planning committee and other interested people were then invited to attend another gigantic meeting at the Indian Center. At this meeting an Advisory Council was elected to begin implementing the program. Since it was a first for both the Chicago Board of Education and the Indian community, the process of implementation was very slow and tedious. By September most of the staff had been hired and classes opened in the tribal hall at the American Indian Center. The Chicago Board of Education would not approve of the rest of the facility for educational purposes.

The first year of operation of the school was fraught with frustration. Four high school classes and a preschool component were held in a room the size of a basketball court. Due to lack of administrative know-how and business acumen, the school's leader left the entire staff to fend for itself. As soon as it was realized that no help was coming from the administration or the Advisory Council the staff banded together and brought some semblance of control out of utter chaos. The school managed to survive its first year under unbelievable circumstances.

Incredible as it may seem, after a year of utter chaotic conditions in which little money was spent from the first year's grant, the Title III administrators funded the program for a second year. Thereby, the Indians were given another go at developing and implementing a uniquely urban Native American education program.

Top priority for the second year was the location of a new site. Working or trying to teach in the tribal hall had proven to be too nerve wracking. Thus, the entire staff issued a statement...a new site or a new staff. With the first year's experience in mind, the Advisory Council, under the auspices of the Board, toured and examined possible locations in schools, abandoned schools, public buildings and even store fronts that could be used for a high school and preschool. In mid-August the Advisory Council recommended to the Chicago Board of Education that the entire school be moved to the old Robert Morris Elementary School, the oldest coal burning school in the system. This old school building had been outgrown by the neighborhood and a new modern school building had been constructed a few yards from the old site.

While the Morris school building was miles from most of the Native American students who resided in the Uptown area, staff, students and community members were extremely happy to have their "own school." The old school even had a gym, the size in which the entire Little Big Horn School had

operated during its first year. This facility was a vital and important addition to the needs of the students who spent much time in the gym after school. Staff, too, spent many happy hours in the gym in competition with the students.

At the end of its first year, a new director was appointed. By the time the first on-site evaluation was made in October the program was stated to have made a 180 degree turn for the better. Supplies and books were ordered and received. Every effort was made to bring the school into the community and the community into the school.

With the movement of the Little Big Horn School to a Chicago Board of Education facility, and the need to follow board rules, including school opening and closing times, the Advisory Council soon felt that it was losing control of the school. The Council then wrote a letter to the Board stating their feelings.

According to the guidelines which accompanied the grant, half of the Advisory Council members should be parents of children in the program. Only three of the nine members had children in the program. After submitting their malcontent letter, the Council did not hold a meeting for three months.

In December, 1971, the newly appointed coordinator called an emergency meeting to elect a new Parent Advisory Council. Only two non-parents from the old council attended this meeting. The rules and regulations of the make up of the Parent Committee were handed out and explained. A new Council was elected and a meeting was conducted immediately by the new chairperson. With input from the newly elected committee and parents, the school continued on its upward climb. The program received a third year funding under Title III for the school year 1972-1973.

When the Title III ESEA funding terminated in June of 1974, the Chicago Board of Education assumed the expenses of most of the operation of the schools. The Indian Education Act provided ancillary and administrative personnel. Additionally, a proposal was submitted and a grant received from Title VII, of the Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act. This grant permitted two bilingual educational specialists and two teacher aides to be added to the staff of the Little Big Horn School. Funding from private sources continued and still continues to provide materials and supplies not obtainable through the Chicago Board of Education. The Parent Advisory Council also engaged in many fund raising events to obtain money to purchase materials for cultural activities.

Many problems encountered in other programs were not strangers to Little Big Horn School. In attempting to combat the dropout problem, other problems were generated — truancy and absenteeism. All sorts of motivational techniques were used in an attempt to improve attendance. Monetary awards were given for perfect weekly attendance, ice skating trips and special field trips were provided, and bowling and lunches were offered. Nothing seemed to improve the school's daily average attendance. The lowest monthly average was 57 percent in February of 1974 and the highest was 93 percent in September of 1973. The percentages have ranged in between since. Because most of the students come from families whose incomes are in the lowest bracket, the administration was not amazed at this percentage; it simply reflects the national average for low income families. During the 1977-1978 school year the school provided monies for pupil transportation. Although statistics are not yet available, it is expected that this assistance will improve attendance.

The school's curriculum is Indian oriented. Subjects such as earth science are taught from the Indian point of view: that the Earth is our Mother and that the Sky is our Father. Volunteers, especially from the Indian community, are recruited to reinforce curriculum and to exemplify the culture and heritage of the various tribes that they represent.

Teachers outline their course materials, making sure that the content is Indian oriented. The Chicago Board of Education's curriculum specialists go over these course outlines with the teacher and the coordinator and, when approved, they become a part of the curriculum at Little Big Horn School. Students, parents and other interested people have input into the curriculum. A curriculum outline of all courses being taught is published yearly. These may be seen at the school at any time. The school has also exchanged outlines and guides with other Indian schools; these materials may be obtained from the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards in Denver, Colorado.

Although it is intangible and hard to measure, the greatest accomplishment the school has noted is the attitudinal change in the students being served. Perhaps a few examples of what has been accomplished will aid one in assessing this claim. Although the following list may seem common place to the reader who is in a system where these matters are routine, they are major accomplishments for Indians in Chicago.

In 1971 it would have been unthinkable to ask students to stand up and address the student body, become involved in a student council, edit and write for a school paper, form a cultural exchange group, do their own graduation fund raising, work in out-of-school jobs, attend Parent Advisory Council meetings, make applications for college entrance in their junior year, become vitally interested in their own tribal traditions and culture, ask that certain events (spaghetti dinner, Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners, freshman orientation picnic, etc.) become annual events in their school calendar, wield peer influence in maintaining discipline, ask for outside people to attend a hearing regarding school rules, ask for representation at open staff meetings, get over three hundred people at a special event and, lastly of all, bask in the security of being a Native American and be proud of it.

The future of the school remains in the hands of the Great Spirit. Perhaps He will see fit to continue

Robert Nicholas

THE NEW INDIANS — CHICAGO

We are helping each other...
To get a good education
To get good jobs.

We are enjoying each other,
Playing basketball
Going to Pow-Wows

We are helped by others -
St. Augustine
Father Powell

But we are on our own -
N.A.C.
The Indian Center

I am one of those people -
The Indian people...
Working with kids
Teaching them crafts
Teaching them manners.

Little Big Horn -
Learning about the environment
Studying Math
Learning about our past.

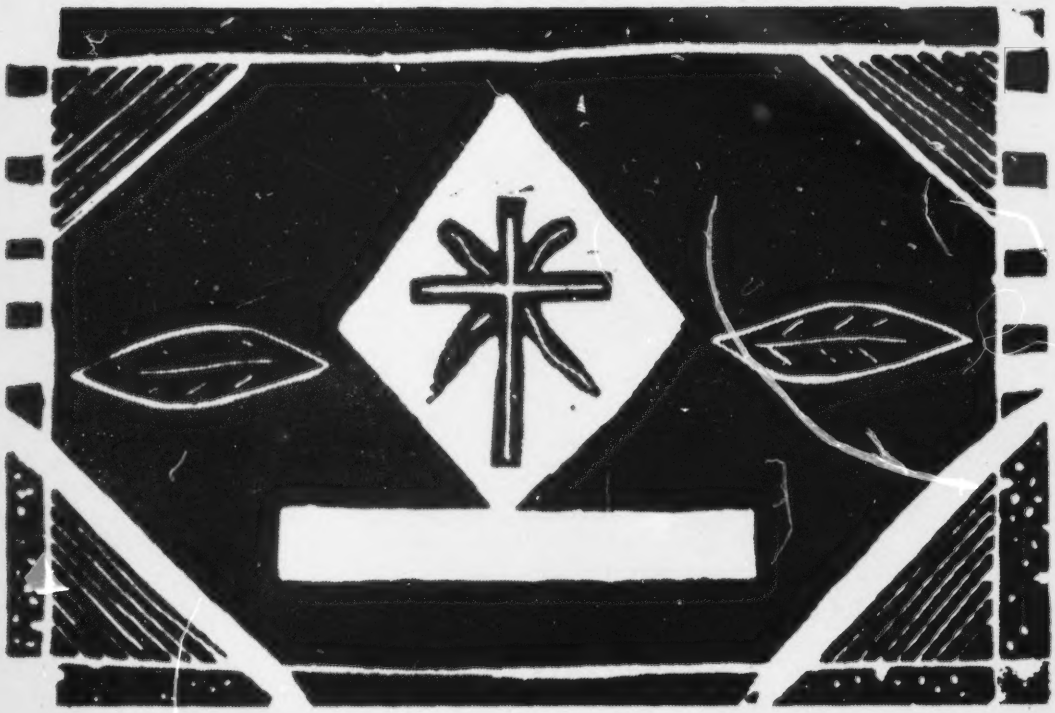
I am a new Indian.
I learn.
I teach.
I help.
I am helped.
I have a goal
and
I will reach it.

—Darlene Walker

the work that has been undertaken by the concerned people of Chicago. These people know that they have struggled and strived to make Little Big Horn School the best. They are proud that the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare has confirmed that it is the best school of its kind anywhere in the nation.

As was done at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, Indians shall give of their best and shall continue the struggle for survival, not only for themselves and for their children, but also for their own culture and heritage. For they know that no matter how hard one tries to make a white out of an Indian, the call of the wind in the trees, the cracking of growing corn and the beat of the drum, the flight of the partridge, the quick disappearance of a deer, the virgin timber tracts, and the pride of being different, yet brothers, will keep the native American strong and steadfast in his beliefs for thousands of years to come.◄

Darlene Walker is a Native American student at Little Big Horn High School in Chicago. "The New Indians—Chicago" originally appeared in **Walking Leaves**, Chicago, Little Big Horn High School, Volume 6, No. 6, March, 1977.



Emily Staples

Landmarks On The Path of Indian Education

By J.A. Jones

An historically recent government report issued in 1956 quotes a less recent one from 1885 as saying:

> The Indian is the strangest compound of individualism and socialism to seed. It is this being that we must endeavor to make a member of a new social order. To do this we must recreate him, make him a new personality. (SIJD, p. 11)

Then, after commenting on the effectiveness of the "modern approach" the historically recent report states that there are problems concerned with school non-attendance and drop outs because:

> Many parents take their children with them on seasonal employment and keep them out of school for appreciable lengths of time. Other parents, under an old Indian custom of allowing youths to make their own decisions, leave it to the children to decide if they want to attend classes. This has proved harmful, not only in the effect it has on the child's education, but also, would seem a factor in parental neglect and to a lack of parental supervision. This frequently subjects a child to adverse health and environmental conditions and to too much idle time. (SIJD, 1956, p. 12)

The report goes on to speak of federal boarding schools and recommends stepped-up adoptive placements and foster home care for neglected, dependent or orphaned children. It would appear that in the seventy years between these two reports nothing much has changed in the official thinking of federal caretakers.

It is difficult to write a history of Indian education when one considers that education might best be defined as the formal training a society provides to socialize its young. There is little evidence that the dominant society ever thought in these terms about Indian children. These youth were considered the children of savages,

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"We conceive education not only in terms of classroom teaching, but a process which begins at birth and continues through a life span."

and they were often left to the attention of missionaries until the 1870's. By this time it became apparent that the Indians did not seem destined either to adjust to reservation life or to die off, both professed goals of earlier policy makers. The quotes given above show that there was little change in the grim attempt to make Indians into an approximation of white, middle-class people, and the Indianness deplored in 1885 was just as deplored in 1956.

There are several landmark dates that should be mentioned in tracing the evolution of Indian education. The Meriam Report, prepared under the auspices of the Brookings Institute and published in 1928, was a model of liberal and clear-thinking analysis. Its goals were quoted approvingly by the Kennedy Report of 1969:

> The major findings of the Meriam Report were that (1) Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs, and (2) Indians were receiving a poor quality of services (especially health and education) from public officials who were supposed to be serving their needs. These two findings remain just as valid today as they were more than forty years ago. (SSIE, 1969, p. 13)

In 1934, Congress passed the Wheeler-Howard Act (or the Indian Reorganization Act) which was an attempt to give the Indians a voice in their own affairs as recommended by the Meriam Report. Unfortunately, in practice, the government of Indian tribes fell into the control of the most acculturated members of the tribe, and a correlation developed between being of mixed white-Indian ancestry, speaking English in the home, attaining higher education and being a member of the governing clique of the Wheeler-Howard spawned tribal business committee. Traditional leaders were rarely competent to take part in the white paper world, and were by-passed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs power structure in favor of the progressive business committee members. The voice wasn't an Indian voice, but a white voice, speaking with an Indian accent.

In 1953, Congress passed a resolution stating its announced policy that Indian tribes should be freed from federal supervision as soon as possible, and it scheduled some tribes to be terminated in the immediate future. Liberal congressmen were confused about what "freeing the Indians" might mean, but since the stakes were small, they did not inform themselves on the issues. In response to the resolution, a few conservative senators, Watkins of Utah and Anderson of New Mexico in particular, took the lead in setting up the machinery by which the remaining tribal holdings of the Indians could be broken up and sold to individuals with enough capital to develop them. In particular, any evidence of competence in self-government was taken as a measure of readiness for termination. Termination, itself, was concerned primarily with the termination of the federal trust responsibility over Indian lands. If it were removed, the lands would be subjected to state taxes; and in the state of economic development the Indians were in, that would be tantamount to guaranteed tax sales on the majority of Indian holdings.

In the light of this situation, with the developments sketchily outlined, perhaps it can be understood that "Indian education" has no history, in that Indian cultures have been so impoverished by reservation life styles that few tribes have been able to formally train their children in Indian ways. White-oriented education, however, has been conceived by whites as a way to further deculturate Indians with the goal of eventually opening underused land resources to white exploitation.

It is enlightening that the problem of self-determination was not mentioned in the 1961 Declaration of Indian Purpose that was published as the credo of the American Indian Chicago conference. They do say that "We conceive education not only in terms of classroom teaching, but a process which begins at birth and continues through a life span" (AICC, p. 12). However, they go on a few paragraphs later to say, "It would be well if all our children would avail themselves of academic training, but the truth is that only a few complete secondary schooling. The undereducated are of all ages. Lack of education limits our chances to qualify for skilled occupations. A general upgrading of education for Indians and a determined effort to discover and educate our ablest individuals is essential for all age groups" (p. 13). They are thinking of schooling, and they go on to talk at length of schooling. However, the conference participants did not speak of controlling their schools so that Indian children would be taught the truth about themselves and their history.

It was not until Senator Robert Kennedy interested himself in the plight of the Native Americans that there was any feeling among Indians, that there was any possibility of getting help at the highest level of government. His chairmanship of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education started the most enlightened approach to the study of Indian problems since the Meriam Report. With Kennedy's death, Wayne Morris took over the Chairmanship, and with his defeat, when he ran for re-election, Edward Kennedy finished the task his brother had begun. For the first time government officials were talking about education for Indians in a sense that wasn't genocide. Starting with a report by Stewart Udall as Secretary of the Interior in

July, 1961, the theme of Indian participation in policy-making for Indian education was recognized, and in November, 1969, a status report states as its sixth recommendation:

> Every effort should be made to encourage Indian parents and tribal leaders to assume increasing interest in and responsibility for the education of Indian children in accordance with the concept of community action. School boards, elected by the community and entrusted with appropriate responsibility for education, would be adopted as standard operating procedures. Specialized training programs should be instituted for board members. Study also should be given to the possibility of making grants directly to Indian groups to administer their own educational systems. (SIE, 1969, p. 583)

This, perhaps, can be considered the birth of a concept of Indian education, in contrast to what had gone on before.

Think what this means. The conditions in which Indians generally live, both on reservations and in urban ghettos are characterized by a short life expectancy, a high infant mortality rate, and poverty. These are the kinds of statistics that are significant relative to standard figures for other segments of the population. They are also reflections of the fact that the assimilation goals of whites for Indians have not been met because these characteristics of reservation life were also characteristics of Indian life in pre-white days. Let no one believe that being an Indian was ever easy. In many groups it was an unending round of drudgery, and early and painful death were commonplace. The difference between then and now, is that now it is preventable. The fact that these conditions still exist, is that Indians, by and large, have rejected the acknowledged goods of economic independence, normal life expectancy, and infant mortality rates, and the like, where they must, in exchange give up other values that are even more important. If education had not been tied to giving up being Indian, perhaps there would have been different results from formal efforts extending back over a hundred years.

Indians will seek the vision of fuller and more comfortable lives for themselves and their children if allowed to do so on their own terms. What those terms are is one of the great debates that is being waged between Indians now. The controversy has generated great bitterness over the past ten years. An example is the Chicago American Indian community. Chicago has at present something under the 16,000 individuals that are usually quoted, and perhaps only half that number. The heart of the community is in the north Chicago Uptown neighborhood where Robert Reitz at the American Indian Center, and Father Powell at St. Augustine's anchored service programs. With Reitz' untimely death, the community underwent a series of factional splits, and is just now settling down. The American Indian Center has gone through bad times, and it seems to change executive directors every few months. The group that Reitz was training for leadership has moved away from the controversy, and has quietly started building on its own. They have organized the Native American Committee, and NAC, as it is locally known, has emphasized education as the most significant thrust for community service. NAC members are on the Board of Directors of the local university. American Indian Programs (Seven Nations at Central YMCA, Native American Program at the University of Illinois Circle Campus, and the one at Northern Illinois University) have involved some of their members in experimental efforts at the B.A. level.

Susan Crazythunder, a graduate of N.I.U. once said, "We Indians want everything you have from education. We want Indian doctors, Indian lawyers, Indian teachers. We want it to be education that is meaningful for Indians." And that's about it. The old, paternalistic programs that were designed to bring individual Indian students to the point where their values were comparable to those of individuals in the dominant society are not of interest to Indian leaders today. Individuals like Faith Smith, Nancy Dumont, Bob Dumont, Verdaine Farmilant, Edith Johns, Gloria Whitebird, Alice Yellowbank, Bob Yellowbank, Roberta Miskokomon, and others active on the Native American Committee represent the new Indian movement in Indian education. They are insisting that policy matters be discussed in community settings, in the Indian fashion, and that decisions are arrived at after everyone has had a chance to talk about consequences and alternatives, and finally to accept that one path is better than another. This group has established a series of committees to deal with specific problems. The Native American Committee on Education now has a program for elementary children, one for high school youths, and one for men and women, all directed toward gaining skills that will be useful to Indians in living in a complex system where they are balanced between two cultures. This is the future of Indian education.

Learning to think in terms of what is best for Indians from an Indian point of view is not easy, even for Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has, for years co-opted Indian leadership by bringing educated young people into the bureau and indoctrinating them with the official point-of-view. This was illustrated in the program set up for certification of school principals that was established in the Division of Education Policy Studies at Pennsylvania State University by Frank Lutz and Pat Lynch in 1970 and 1971. They had started the program originally to bring black administrators from the Philadelphia school system up to certification level, and in the midst of the program, the Indian educators were brought in to start their certification training.

In the summer of 1977, a ten-week seminar brought the two groups of students together. The black administrators very soon realized that the Indian administrators were prejudiced against blacks. It developed that the B.I.A. was required to hire teachers on twelve-month schedules, and that the pay was less at that time than most teachers could earn in nine months on a regular teaching contract in a public school. To fill positions, the B.I.A., hiring from U.S. Civil Service

rosters, picked up black teachers who had been educated in segregated southern schools and segregated southern teachers' colleges and who had difficulty getting teaching jobs in white systems. Indians equated the inferior federal schooling available to their children in reservation settings with inferior teaching. An easy target was the black teacher. This attitude was apparent in the way the Indian educators acted at the beginning of the summer.

The turning point came in a discussion of discipline. An Indian educator bragged about the number of students he had expelled from the boarding school in Oklahoma where he was disciplinary officer. A black vice-principal from a Philadelpia school with a majority of black students thoughtfully related that he had had to expel two students himself that year. The difference between the self-evaluations of the actions of the two men was so marked that it sparked additional discussion. It developed that the black vice-principal saw himself as a trustee for the black community, and that the children in his charge should be kept in school by any means possible, and that the Indian administrator saw himself as an agent of the dominant society that was committed to requiring of Indian students the closest conformance in behavior to white norms that it was possible to do. The Indian educator was a decent man who had been co-opted by a repressive system without ever having been put in a position to see that his behavior was inimical to educating young Indians in ways that would be helpful for them to survive with integrity. A measure of his decency is the fact that through the summer he was led to change his position. The next summer when the seminar was resumed, he was able to report that he had turned himself around. He expressed the hope that he could make up for any damage he may have caused young people. It was his hope to accomplish this by fighting for their right to a meaningful education in Indian terms. He committed himself to that with the same intensity that he had when he exposed the B.I.A. point-of-view, but with a more mature understanding of what he was about.

This individual was not alone in his change of view. The results of the program were so alarming to the B.I.A. officialdom in Washington that alarmed inquiries were directed toward Penn State. Perhaps the other experimental programs in other universities that were conducted at the same time did not meet with the same success, but there are enough aware individuals working as Indians for Indian educational opportunities in the country now, that one can surmise that the chances of success are better than ever before in the history of Indian-white contact.

Indian culture is remarkably resilient and tough-fibered. It has survived the wars, the pestilence, the missionaries and the best efforts of the educators with the vocational boarding schools, the punishment visited on the use of Indian language by children in educational settings, and the systematic devaluation of Indian values by dominant society teachers over the last few hundred years. Indians have survived, and are for the first time taking the institution of education into their own hands. It will be another generation before this will be the rule, rather than the exception, but the tide is turned, and is flowing toward self-determination. Whites are no longer welcome in positions of policy making. This means a lot of mistakes that could have been avoided will be made, and there will be more suffering than was necessary as a result. Indians have learned at their peril that trusting non-Indians in policy positions is fraught with dangers so terrible that it is better to sacrifice the possible advantages of using the efforts of well-intentioned whites at the possible expense of making Indian mistakes. These can be remedied more easily than the betrayal of Indian values which whites might unknowingly and unintentionally have lead them into.

Education can be very expensive for the unwary. It was Sol Tax who advanced the thesis that the Indian student would pick the best of both cultures; for example, the non-competitiveness of the Indian in his culture and the technical excellence of the white in his culture. This advice was a touchstone of programs in southwestern universities in the sixties. The Indian clubs set up by white educators like Bob Roessel at Arizona State University, as an example, were probably responsible for flunking out more Indian students than bigoted teachers. A.S.U.'s Nursing College despaired of ever graduating an Indian nurse, much as they wished to, for prestige reasons, if nothing else. Jean Jacques Rousseau's analyses of Indian values still influence the thinking of some American intellectuals. Tax has high prestige among white anthropologists, along with individuals like John Collier, Oliver LaFarge, and other champions and spokesmen. This is not easy for whites like me to accept, but we all share Tax's guilt if only because we were blind to the damage we were doing. It should be the goal of white educators who are interested in Indian education to find ways to get out of the way so that Indians can do it themselves. ◄

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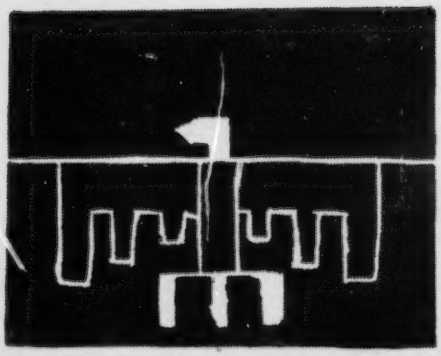

Andrew Nicholas

The Johnson-O'Malley Act In The Evolution Of Native American Education

By Emmet S. Oliver

Brief History of the Johnson-O'Malley Act. The Indian nations were in positions of considerable power when issues related to obtaining Indian lands for settlement by European colonists were initially negotiated. Indians controlled the land and resources essential to the livelihood and profits of the colonists. However, the Europeans had products, skills and information which Indian leaders immediately recognized as being beneficial to their people. Thus, when the inevitable bargain was struck, the European concessions often included agreements to educate the Indian population in exchange for land and other considerations.

The practice of trading land for educational programs was continued by the United States when it began making treaties with Indian nations in the west. In 1871, when Congress discontinued making new treaties, the federal government was still bound to provide an education for many Indians for fifty years, and it did so with government schools on reservations or with financial contributions to schools enrolling Indian students. At the end of that half-century the federal role in Indian education was discontinued by the Bureau of Indian Affairs Appropriation Act of 1920. This act left the responsibility for Indian education to the states; however, in 1924 the Citizenship Act granted full American citizenship to Indians living in the continental United States. Thus, Indians were entitled to attend local, state or federally funded public schools. Financial problems occurred in many areas when local school districts experienced increased enrollments without a proportionate increase in their tax base. Indian lands, like those of churches and some other organizations, are non-taxable.

As a means of alleviating the financial burdens of public school districts on or near Indian reservations, the Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM) was enacted on April 16, 1934. This act distributed federal funds to schools enrolling students who were at least one-quarter Indian and to members of tribes recognized by the Secretary of the Interior. As the cost of education increased, Congress increased the funds available for the basic education of Indian students. JOM funds are currently used for supplemental aid programs designed to meet specific needs of Indian students.

At present, JOM funds are made available through separate negotiations between the BIA and the respective states or tribal corporations. These corporations then contract with local school districts. From 1958 to 1975, each contracting agency received annual grants which were apportioned on the basis of the size of the Indian population being served, the financial status of the school district, the degree of educational deprivation of the Indian students

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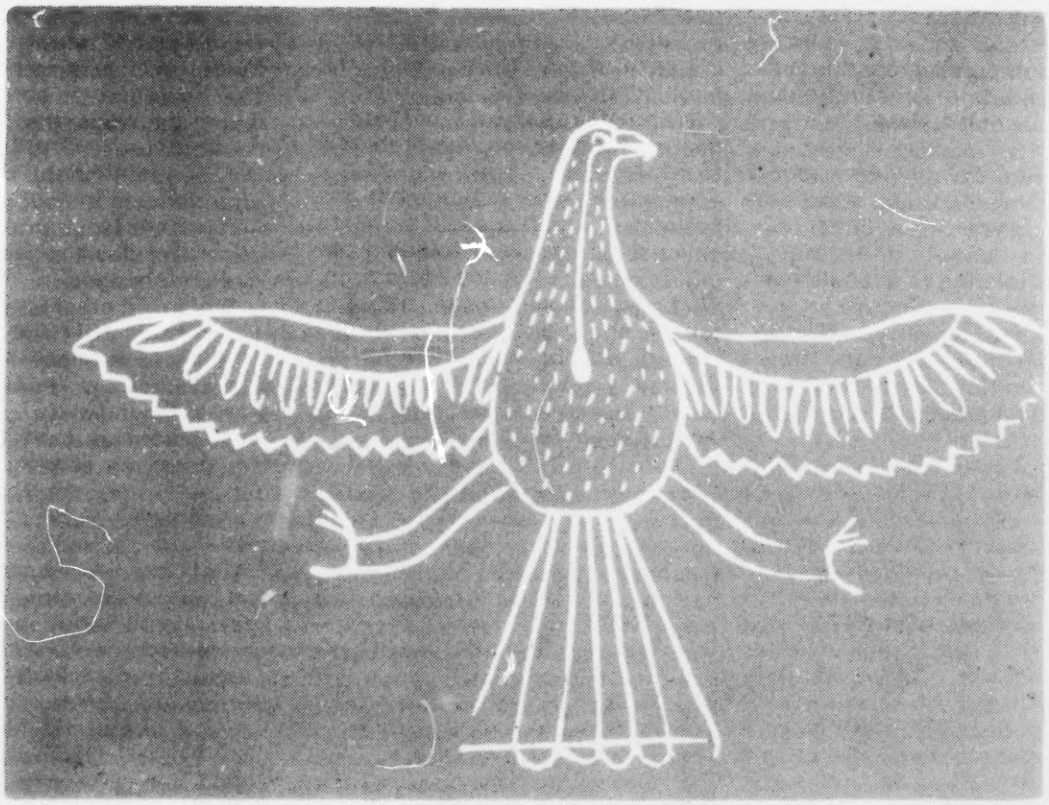


Valarie McFaggen

and the economic deprivation of the Indian families.

With the passage of the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 has come an increased focus on the role of Indian parents and community members on the JOM programs. Indian education committees and school districts now have responsibilities for program planning, grant applications, staffing, budget monitoring and evaluating. Regulations require that local school boards and administrators cooperate with and support the work of these committees. This policy is in sharp contrast with previous policies which encouraged separating Indian students from their families, as was so prevalent in the boarding schools.

Present Intention of the Johnson-O'Malley Act. The primary responsibility for Indian community educational needs assessment lies with the JOM parent education committees. In the State of Washington, the following general goals are suggested for committee consideration. Each goal is related to needs identified in Indian communities.

Goal One: To identify, develop or adapt, and make available educational opportunities, activities, materials, and services that help Indian children develop language proficiency, cultural and ethnic awareness, career option awareness, occupational and recreational skills, and basic competence in primary academic areas.

Goal Two: To provide educational opportunities, activities, materials and services that conform to each child's individual language, tribal, cultural and ethnic awareness.

Goal Three: To provide educational opportunities, activities, materials and services that meet economic and social needs; that make possible an increase in each child's successful experiences and a decrease in his failures; and that assist each child to develop and measure the success of an individual learning style that is self-initiated.

Goal Four: To train local Indian Parent Advisory Committees for involvement in tangible, productive ways for planning, implementing, and evaluating opportunities, activities, materials and services provided for Indian children.

Goal Five: To provide opportunities, activities, materials and services that increase the pertinent skills and awareness of those who have impact upon Indian children, such as school administrators, teachers, counselors, home visitors, clerical and instructional aides, volunteers, district support staff and other agency or institutional personnel.

Goal Six: To provide project monitoring, educational accomplishment auditing, and Indian program evaluation that will

ensure fiscal and program accountability at federal, state and district levels; and that will be based upon precise, continuous measurement of institutional and learner objectives.

Goal Seven: To provide opportunities, activities, and services that will disseminate either information about or project materials relating to educational practices proven effective for Indian children; and that will promote the spread from one school district to another of such proven practices.

Johnson-O'Malley Education Activities. The first widespread involvement of Indians in the education programs of Washington State schools occurred via the Johnson-O'Malley program. This practice developed in the late sixties in response to the Indian Self-Determination Act. Consequently, one of the major thrusts is continued support and development of more effective parent education committees. Experience has shown that where parents become active in the JOM program in its relationship to the public school they also take a greater interest in the basic school program. This phenomena is indicative of the fact that supplementary programs do not serve as alternatives to the basic education. Therefore, the success potential of JOM is directly related to both the strength of the basic education and the involvement of parents and students.

Of more than forty local JOM school districts in Washington, only four have an Indian enrollment of 75% or more. Taholah, a school on the Quinault Reservation, has an Indian enrollment of 97%, specialized Indian curriculum, Indian-oriented teaching methods, and an all-Indian school board. The majority of JOM schools in Washington, however, have a relatively small Indian enrollment. While there are three large reservations in Eastern Washington: Yakima, Colville, and Spokane, the Indian populations are scattered over millions of acres of reservation lands which are also populated with non-Indians. The twenty JOM programs in Western Washington serve numerous small tribes. Although some Indians live near population centers, the Indian populations are usually some distance from towns and the public schools.

Regardless of different geographic features, the problems tend to be similar. Many youngsters lack educational experiences which are essential to success in school. Problems are compounded by many factors, including poor self-image, negative family and community attitudes toward school, and distrust of teachers. Additionally, many Indians feel an alienation toward American white society.

Another major thrust of JOM is curriculum development. The general curriculum does little to inform the Indian child of his culture and history. Over the past two years, Indian parent education committees in the state of Washington have elected to put 9% of their funds, or an average of $100,000, into the development of Indian curriculum materials. The Office of Indian Education within the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction has produced a third edition of **The History and Culture of the Indians of Washington State—A Curriculum Guide.** While isolated examples can be found of school districts taking the leadership in local JOM committees, it is in this area that the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the public schools in general are lagging far behind the effort to develop effective curriculum changes.

By far the greatest effort and intention of JOM in Washington State is to increase the academic achievement of Indian students. The following data illustrate how local parent education committees set priorities and budgeted their funds.

Parents, teachers, administrators and students have asked, "What were the rewards for this effort? Have the objectives to increase proficiency in reading and mathematics skills been met?"

Reading. While not all forty school districts reported testing at all grade levels, data were gathered to compare average grade placement, reading scores for Indian and non-Indian students. In grades one to eight, the average differen-

Program Emphasis	Amount of Funds	Percent of Funds
Academic Achievement	$410,788	40%
Cultural and Vocational Awareness	$ 95,380	9%
Indian Involvement in Education (teachers, aides, parent committees, counselors, students)	$ 65,298	6%
Early Childhood Education	$ 45,681	4%
In-Service and Continuing Education	$ 57,663	6%
Counseling, Attendance Services	$170,945	17%
Supplementary Student Support	$ 20,426	2%
Summer School	$163,736	16%
TOTAL APPROVALS	$1,029,917	100%

tial indicated that non-Indians scored .51 of a grade higher than their Indian peers. In comparing grades nine to twelve, the spread was much wider with non-Indians scoring 1.3 of a grade level higher. This figure indicated some gain over the previous year where average difference was −1.82. It can be noted that over a period of years, Indian students, on the average, have been scoring from .7 to 1.82 of a grade level below non-Indians.

Mathematics. Based on the number of schools reporting, Indian students appear to be faring somewhat better in mathematics than they do in reading. During the past five years, the average grade differential for all JOM students in mathematics is −.85. This compares somewhat better than in reading, where the comparable score is −.95. In summary, for those JOM students tested, they are close to being a full grade behind in reading and a little over three-fourths of a grade behind in mathematics.

This information is not consistent with national trends. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, it was discovered that the national average educational achievement for Indians was 8.4 years. Indian students scored lower in measures of achievement at every grade than the average non-Indian pupil. Especially alarming was the finding that the lag was greater at grade twelve than at grade one. This indicates that the longer many Indian students stayed in school, the further behind they fell! It should not be surprising, therefore, that the dropout rate for JOM students in the State of Washington has increased from .87% to 5.3% in 1977.

Results and Suggested Modifications. Our research shows that the success of the Title I, Title IV and JOM programs is evaluated in terms of student performance in traditional (3 R's) subject matter. The results gained from these programs are anything but encouraging. From data that is available, one could conclude that Title I and Title IV have fared no better than JOM. We know that Indian parents want their children to function well in both cultures, while emphasizing traditional subject matter. However, basic school programs and compensatory education program seem to have limited impact. Despite enormous expenditures for compensatory education, we are still not able to make definite statements concerning the value of the three programs mentioned above. Since academic achievement is a goal of JOM, it must be admitted that this goal is not being met.

To what extent this failure is due to the compensatory education program or to the basic school program is debatable. However, when long and careful observations are made of JOM programs in the schools, the compensation factor emerges in relation to the basic program, rather than the specific needs of Indian students. There are many non-Indian students who are also failing to achieve in the basic school program. This is not an Indian issue, but a completely general issue that must be resolved before the specific educational goals of Indians can be dealt with properly.

The placement of an Office of Indian Education within the organizational structure of a state department of education is extremely important for the upgrading and improved delivery of educational services to the Indian people.

Too often, established institutions fail to recognize the unique position of Indians in the historical and contemporary American society. Government institutions have persistently thwarted gains in Indian education by an erroneous assumption that because Indians are few in number and culturally different from the dominant society, they are like other minorities. The practice of categorizing Indians as minorities is a bureaucratic convenience. They are unique in their relationship to the land, the governments of the land and the citizens of the nation.

Inadequate recognition is given to the cultural values of the Indian people as they affect personal and social beliefs and behaviors. Due to the existence of treaties and legal stipulations related to Indians and the federal government, certain rights and responsibilities have been established. Thus, there is some recognition of the unique status of Indian sovereignty. However, the relationships of Indian tribes and the state governments lacks a clear definition.

Some clarification of these issues has resulted from the recent U.S. Supreme Court case of **Mancari v. Morton,** 417 U.S. 483, 94 S. Ct. 2474, at p. 2485 (1974). The court stated that "Special treatment of Indians is clearly validated." This decision took Indian affairs out of racial references and issues of minority affairs. Native American citizens do have unique rights in terms of educational services which are specified in treaties and court decisions.

Therefore, it is imperative that state departments of education adopt policy regarding Indian education. These policies should be more than token statements, but a reflection of a commitment supported by Indian groups who are aware of the responsibilities mandated by federal compensatory programs. While not yet totally implemented, it is encouraging that the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Washington issued such a statement in November of 1975.

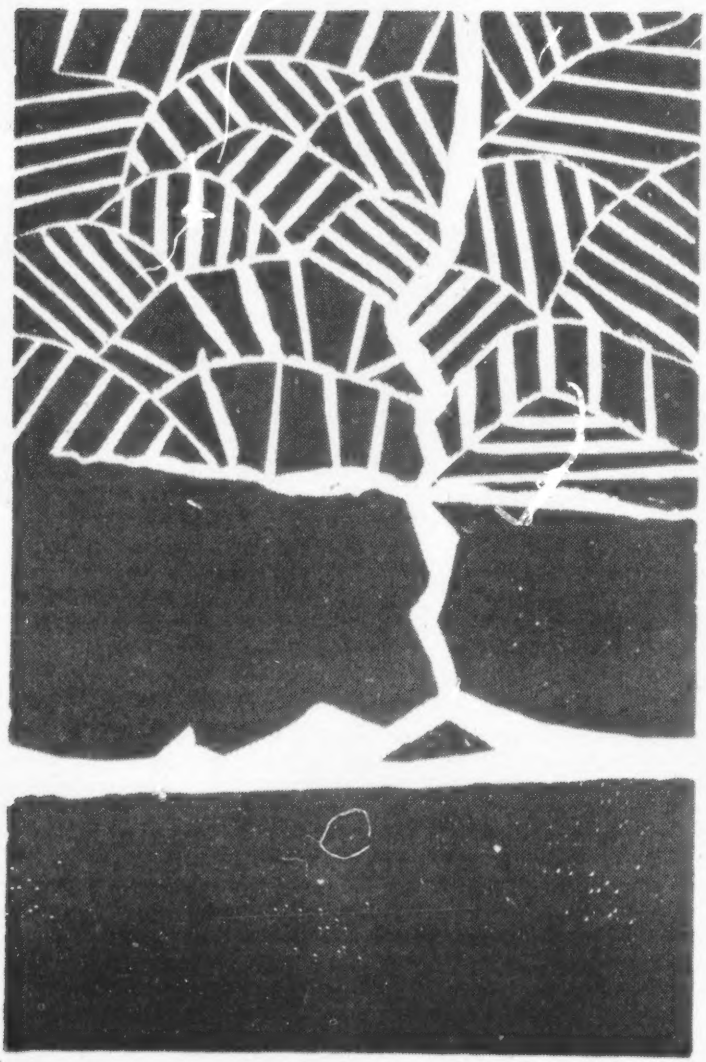
Few gains can be made in Indian education if the classroom teachers and support personnel in the public schools are not prepared to deal with the sensitivities and needs of Indian children. This is a common concern of Indian educators in the United States and Canada. State departments of education must take an assertive position to insure that teachers understand the unique differences of Indian children and appreciate their learning styles and values.

It is of paramount importance that state departments of education recognize and accept the primary responsibility for the education of Indian children. Compensatory programs such as JOM and Title IV do not substitute for basic education. They are, on the other hand, only a means to help students adjust to and succeed in the school programs that already exist. Considerable damage has already been done by assuming that categorical programs are going to "take care of the Indians."

Effective strategies are yet to be developed for providing the compensatory services needed by the students identified as a part of the target population. The current programs are often operated by trial and error techniques in terms of both form and content. Few programs have had benefit of effective needs assessments as a planning base. Evaluation is generally superficial and heavily dependent on standardized test forms.

It can be concluded that there is little evidence that the billions of dollars spent for compensatory education have met the needs of "disadvantaged" students. The consistent low achievement of the Indian student population reflects educational inadequacy in the community and school.

It is highly irresponsible for public school educators and parents to expect classroom aides, paraprofessional tutors, counselors and liaison persons to reverse quickly the established trends of low educational achievement among Indian students. Classes in Indian history or art cannot compensate for inadequate math, reading and language arts instruction. Communications among the responsible persons are unfortunately sporadic and often diverted by personal distrust and political maneuvers. Such basic problems must be resolved if students are to be supported and encouraged in the process of becoming educated.◄



Apache Land

In Apache Land there is a valley that comes from the southeast and goes on toward the west along the sides of the mountain. On the mountains wild poppies bloom, green grasses grow and cattle graze. Far below the silver stream is running. I love this land, where I was born, this Apache Land.

Unknown Apache Child

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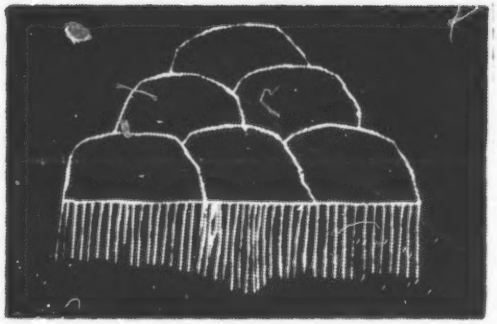

Higher Education:
A New Arena For Native Americans

By Bea Medicine

A recent Department of Health, Education and Welfare report indicates that there are approximately thirty-three thousand Native Americans in higher education (DHEW Publication #75-122, 1977). Higher education in the context of this report means enrollment in community colleges, junior colleges, and colleges and universities. This presents a strong contrast to the one or two isolated tribal members scattered in colleges and universities throughout the United States just two decades ago. This figure also marks great strides in a funding base available to prospective students. Previously, one was required, for economic reasons, to borrow money from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Education Division. Counselors in this Division often determined the occupational choices for the student by emphasizing "practical" courses. Presently, many Native American recruiters from colleges and universities attend such conferences as the National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Education Association to entice students to their institutions. More significantly, the Bureau of Indian Affairs funds programs such as those at Dartmouth College and Harvard University—institutions which were founded originally to educate the aborigines of America. Another eastern university which is benefitting from Bureau funds is Pennsylvania State University. The entire scope of higher education for Indians has achieved new dimensions and possibilities.

It behooves us, then, to realize the effects of this fact upon Native Americans as individuals and as members of tribal collectives. The impact upon Native Americans as persons should begin, perhaps, with some semblance of self-assessment and growing awareness. Most of us hold to a nebulous ideal of "wanting to help our people." By this, do we mean ourselves, our individual tribe, or the larger conglomerate of more than two hundred tribes? (More new tribal groups and members seem to be evident every day). When we hear this utterance of benevolence, is it an echo of an oft-articulated caveat of the expectations of members of the larger society or do we truly believe that this is the most basic motivating factor in our lives? If, by this statement, "wanting to help our people," we mean our own tribe, and if this motivation is an underpinning of a philosophical stance, what do we know about the contemporary situation and needs of that reference group? This may be reflecting a mere ethnocentric attitude and we may be evidencing a "new ethnocentrism" based upon unique tribalism and tribal chauvinism which seems to be endemic in some areas in the Indian education realm. This salient tribal rivalry appears to have deleterious effects upon the education of young Indian students, and it seems to be intensifying at this time.

Another common "folk-saying" is that Indian professionals should be "working with their own people." This is commonly heard in many parts of the country, notably California, but more recently in New Mexico. This may be related to the above noted chauvinism which often assumes tribal and gender dimensions.

As a matter of fact, most of us are living away from our natal reservations. This is often by necessity rather than choice. In many instances, the nature of tribal councils and their unwritten mandate is the hiring of their own consanguinal and affinal kin. This reaffirms one fact which we as natives already know—the bonds of kinship are very strong. Nepotism is a fact of life on most Indian reservations. More symptomatic of the current situation is that many Native Americans with an Ed.D. or a Ph.D. degree find it virtually impossible to obtain employment with tribal groups.

Moreover, it may be difficult to obtain appointments in colleges and universities (despite affirmative action policies) in states with high Indian populations because many "Indian Programs" are based upon transitory federal funding and not built into state funding of such programs in their higher education institutions. The role occupancy of the Native American professor is usually tied to his ability to obtain federal funds. Seldom understood is the subtle role of "white expertise" which often limits the invasion of the domains of education, history, or special eduction departments in which such expertise resides. Startlingly, many tenure-track positions in these departments seem

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to be occupied by professors who claim a miniscule amount of Indian ancestry. Thus, the colleges and universities meet affirmative action requirements. Surprisingly, anthropology departments, despite their "rip-off" image in Native American communities, appear more amenable to tenure-track positions for minority professors of either gender.

Native American Studies Departments still offer the only academic arena in which Indian heritage is a valued and saleable commodity. There are, however, some doubts as to the academic quality of such departments (Washburn, 1975). There are few such departments which are staffed with persons holding a doctoral degree and with significant publication records. The Universities of California at Berkeley and Los Angeles, the University of Minnesota, University of Arizona and Arizona State University at Tempe are the exceptions to this statement.

Many Native Americans in higher education are often labelled "academics" by persons in our own tribal groups, especially by non-native members on review panels where we often participate. This posits the idea that by being in an academic setting we are no longer "tribal" or "community" people. It seems impossible for some of our white colleagues to comprehend the nature of being Indian in the twentieth century. Many of us still maintain a home on our reservations, participate in political, ceremonial, and religious activities and interact in a migratory pattern of moving from residential place of occupation to natal home (Kemnitzer, n.d.). Others of us have completely severed our ties with our tribal communities. And some of us have chosen to relocate either voluntarily or via the Relocation Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

But whatever the case, there are now Indian faculty of all degrees of blood quantum and phenotype in the academic setting. Indian faculty may sometimes fall into the category of "show-pieces." They are seldom judged on their teaching ability, the acumen of their research results, or the desires of their constituencies, but upon the prevailing criteria of their disciplines. There have been two native male professors whose publication records were evaluated as being not of academic quality for they had published mainly in Indian-operated journals. This places the native academic in double jeopardy. Most Indian professors are pressured by native groups to write articles or do research to meet crises and immediate needs of communities—urban, rural, and reservation. Moreover, advocacy work involving testimony in legal cases, proposal writing and reading, and responding to requests for information often hinders the writing of papers which meet the criteria of academic peers. Frequently, however, this is indicated in a **sub rosa** manner, that the writing of native candidates for university positions "does not meet the standards of academic excellence." Indian faculty are seldom part of regular administrative budgets but are more likely expected to rely upon their "grants personship" abilities. Perhaps they share this with other ethnic or minority faculty. We do know that the involvement in "community work" of other minority faculty is also not considered in tenure-track positions. Publications in scholarly journals of their respective disciplines is the main criteria for assessing a native intellectual's worth. This is understood by many of us. However, more devastating is that frequently our advocacy faculty of white friends and colleagues are often accused of doing "welfare work" if they are involved with us or in helping Native American students.

As I have written elsewhere:

> I shall address my remarks to Higher Education as that is my field. The future of Higher Education for Indians is not as healthy as I had hoped. In the general retrenchment in universities, and despite affirmative action policies, there are still pitifully few native educators in tenure track positions in colleges and universities in those states with large Indian populations. It appears that our commitments are not attuned to university expectations. We have not done what our "White" counterparts traditionally do. That is, we have not utilized the "buddy system" and the selective choosing of our favorite graduate students as our replacements. Thusly, there are too few Indian professors who are able to provide viable and significant models to the upcoming generations of our young adults. Moreover, the siphoning off of our creative and committed college instructors into lucrative "funded-but-softly" Indian programs presents a bleak picture for our future college students. Thus, I see a continued high drop-out rate of our college students. (Medicine, 1977, p. 8)

One area in the higher education realm which needs to be addressed is the role of the "white ghost writer." At this time, the legacy of the so-called "poverty pimp" who wrote proposals for tribal groups in the days of the "Great Society" war on poverty seems continuous in some areas. This, of course, is a very delicate area. This is evident, however, in some writings by Native American professionals and in bi-lingual education proposals. It is also discernible in the writings of some native educators. This is a worrisome practise and negates the presentation of "felt needs" by Native American groups. It also strikes at the very fabric of "self-determination." Therefore, it was upsetting to learn that the report of the American Indian Policy Review Committee's segment on cultural aspects had mainly white input. This brings into perspective the entire ideal of integrity in higher education and the roles of Native academicians in various fields. At this juncture, it is hoped that we do not reflect the corruption we see in the dominant society, but look to our own personal and tribal ethics and values and enact them.

In general, it would appear that the nature of higher education institutions in the United States has not changed appreciably in response to minority protests of the late 1960's. Many of us who have worked in the system prior to the 1960's hoped for more change. We possibly have stayed within the higher education realm for we find

that it is more predictive than the emergent systems of indigenous power struggles and ego-gratifying maneuvers of native systems of education and Indian organizations. A few of us have been fortunate in being affiliated with universities which have allowed, if not sanctioned, advocacy in action cases, and have been attuned to judgements on teaching and research and writing expectations. On the other hand, some native professors have been penalized for activism. Moreover, the appeal of academic freedom is strong in allowing one to express research concerns and results.

The Native American student composition of most higher education institutions is composed of students directly from reservation or rural native communities in various degrees of isolation from "mainstream" society. Others are from urban areas. The impact of the Relocation Program (now called Employment Assistance Program) of the BIA upon the deculturalization of Indian youth is not evident in the research literature. One can, however, point to many cases of these college students enrolled in the 1960's in urban universities, whose knowledge of their own tribal heritage, much less an overview of Native Americans in general, was extremely limited. In this era, one must acknowledge the campus unrest with the resultant establishment of Ethnic Studies Departments, including Native American Studies Departments with their latent "Indian-culture-building" mechanisms. These programs did much to meet the needs of native students on "identity-questing" endeavors (Medicine, 1971). The long range effects of "Indian Awareness" weeks, the "Native Expert" lecture circuits, and the "Inter-Tribal Pow Wow" may all have contributed to a "contrived culture" that is almost devoid of distinctive tribal values, ethos, and ethics. In retrospect, some of us fostered a curricula which examined distinctive socialization practises and values clarification based upon unique tribal valences and philosophical systems. It may be possible, however, that the need for native identity was too overpowering for students. Even today, we are faced with native students of all tribes participating in the Siouan Sun Dance at Pine Ridge.

Students as well as academicians apparently view reservations as residual reservoirs of native culture. These social systems need to be examined periodically. Certainly, the analysis of "reservation culture" and processes of Indian urbanization could form basic data for theory constructing and methodological development in Native American Studies Departments. This dual experience could fit under courses entitled "Contemporary Issues" in Native American Studies curricula. Thornton indicates that "A final grouping (of courses) pertains to contemporary American Indians in rural, reservation, and urban areas. Topics here range from contemporary legal considerations, educational issues, Indian organizations and social movements, intergroup relations, migration to urban areas, and pan-Indianism to tribal, political and economic development on reservations." (1977, p. 3) This statement seems sufficiently comprehensive, but one questions how much of this can be covered comprehensively in a quarter system of a university calendar.

After spending six months on a reservation in the northern plains, I consider several research needs to stand out in sharp focus. A foremost need is a study of tribal councils as native elitist bureaucracies. The composition of the tribal councils varies for each reservation and election period. Interestingly, two tribal chairmen on two Teton Lakota reservations are former BIA employees. Aspects of power and decision-making is a feature which is seldom researched. Aspects of staff incentive payments (at Standing Rock, $100.00 was paid to certain tribal employees prior to the election) and the role of the Tribal Chairman's Inaugural Ceremony with its "give-away" needs clarification. Unfortunately, funding agencies in the public and private sector rely completely upon the approval of Tribal Councils. It is important that this lack of knowledge about the realities of reservation life be placed within the comprehension of proposal readers and whites and blacks in the federal bureaucracies.

The sexism and bias of one tribal member from Pine Ridge is typical:

> "The Tribal Council is ridiculous," said a man I shall call Edgar Running Bear because he asked me not to use his real name. "Two of them are stupid women who have not even had a sixth grade education, one of them is a hopeless alcoholic, and they're all prejudiced." (LaFarge, cited by Kentfield, in Wax, 1975, p. 127)

It would appear that we have a body of data for comparison of Tribal Councils through time. The structural compositions, vested interests, formation of corporations, roles of "white consultants," position of "full-bloods," and percentage of "mixed-bloods" could form part of the research focus. The "moccasin telegraph" (a very real communication network on reservations), indicates that the present incumbent President of the Ogallala Sioux Tribe sponsored a study which clearly indicates that the "mixed-blood" or "breed" element are in decision-making positions and occupy most jobs on Pine Ridge, leaving the more traditional "full-bloods" in powerless positions. One can posit the notion that this picture may be true of most Tribal Councils. The influx of returned enrollees (also in the mixed blood category) to form corporations based upon EDA, minority business, foster age, and other funding for minorities programs needs to be examined for comprehension of the dynamics of modern reservation life. Research of this type must consider the residual traditional (equated frequently with "full-blood") natives. These persons form sub-systems and are often referred to as "hard-core" or "drop-outs" (or more realistically from their viewpoint — "push-outs") from educational systems. The powerless peoples maintain in their "hard-coreness" the qualities of life which allows for the continuity of tribal traditions. They, in my estimation, are the vestigial and valued component of reservation personnel and the vanguard

which allows our culture and traditions to be maintained. However, they are often seen as "deviants" and the "target populations" to be changed by the proposal writers for tribes and Indian organizations. They supply the raw material for the funding of programs.

In the urban areas, the rise and fall of Indian organizations, the function of tribally-based associations, the nature of conflict and factions, the effects of funded programs, and aspects of native identity needs research from an insider's point of view.

It is possible, however, that researchers—if they are Indian students—might be viewed as "young kids not dry behind the ears." If they are white, they may be co-opted into jobs within the native elite groups—such as proposal writing—or coerced into giving glowing accounts about the falsified functioning of Tribal Councils or urban Indian groups.

In the strident emphasis on "self-determination" one could investigate the dissonances between the federal watch-dog (BIA) mandated to protect the trust responsibility of the tribes and this new dictum. Equally significant is the examination of reservations as emerging energy resources and the impact of resource development on the human components. This focus is especially pertinent to "white backlash" in the context of relationships of whites' and Indians' symbiotic relationships in border towns near the reservation. Building upon models presented by Jorgenson (1972) and Braroe (1975), native-initiated modes of research are badly needed. The need for new methods and theories is implicit in Thornton (1977). Moreover, the impact of Native American Studies Departments upon reservation and urban conglomerates presents new avenues for research and evaluation. This points to new and exciting combinations of lay persons in the communities and of native students and professionals to develop new research strategies.

In the realm of native-controlled education, an update of the effects of proliferating community colleges upon Indian education is of high priority (Medicine, 1975). Have community colleges been adaptive in re-orienting high school education to meet the research needs of their constituencies? Have they effectively dealt with the high rates of drop-outs in high schools? Where have graduates of these colleges gone in terms of completing their education? These questions, and others, are being addressed by the American Indian Higher Education Consortium in Denver. A cursory examination of the data returned in the uneven collection by various community colleges points to the need for research design methodologies in this area.

Echoing the standard **mea culpa** heard at each annual "tribal tite" (association's annual meeting) of the "anthros," who are constantly accused of studying the "powerless peoples," one could make a plea for studying "around" and not only "up" as Laura Nader (1969) suggests. Such groups as the "Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities" with their views on Indian rights and governmental responsibilities offer a choice research potential. Racism and reservations are other topics which can effectively be combined in current research on the Indian scene. More importantly, the results of such findings should be widely disseminated, not only to Tribal Councils, but at community meetings.

Native American Studies Programs have served as repositories for American Indians in Higher Education. That is, virtually every native individual in a college or university is thought to be in this ethnic department. They are not to be thought of as the only department in which Indians in higher education are housed. Native American Studies Departments' value is considerable, as Morgan Otis writes:

> These programs tend to attract the educationally disadvantaged and culturally different people into the state college or university arena. It provides them an area of study in which they can gain a sound foothold of confidence and, hopefully, the skills to complete a college education. In essence Native American Studies...serve(s) as a stepping stone to advance the education of the Indian student, regardless of Tribe or Nation, while also exposing the rest of society to the attributes of the culturally different. (1976, p. 18)◄

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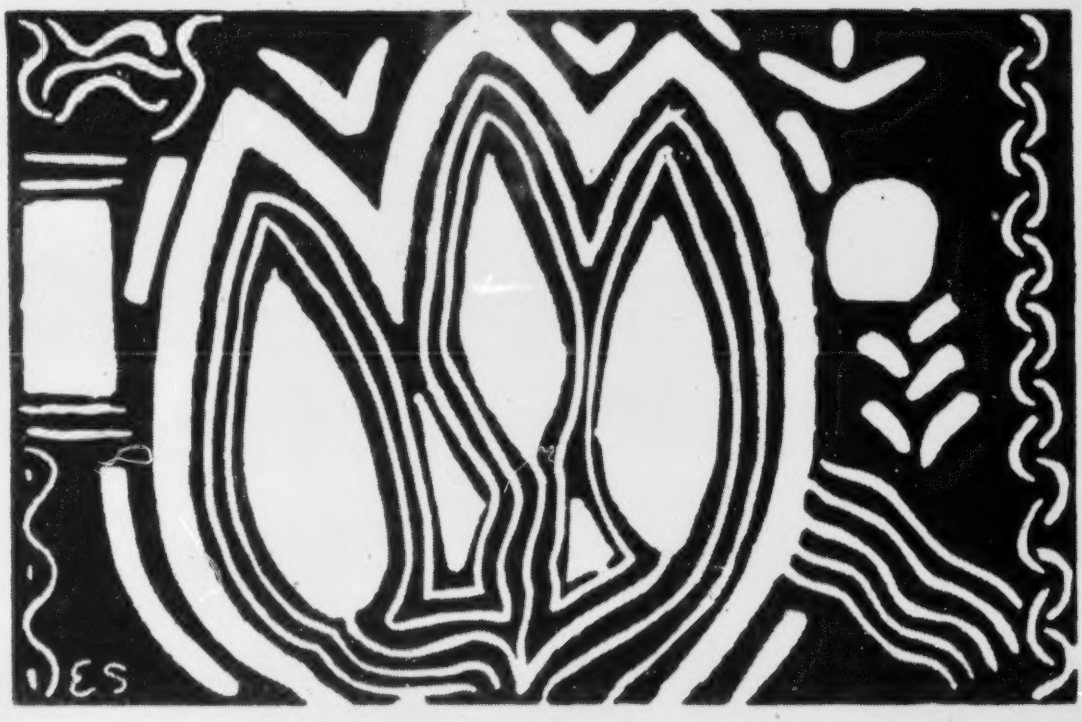

Emily Staples

Trends In Indian Education:

The Views Of An Urban Native American Community Leader

By Lyman F. Pierce

The last decade has ushered in some new changes and approaches to educating the Native American. For many years, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and some states were solely responsible for such education. Today, the new programs are designed for greater participation by tribes, Indian organizations and individuals.

Education Monies. With the passage of the Indian Self-determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975, contracting by tribes with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Service became possible and enabled tribes and Indian organizations to run their own training and educational programs. This kind of arrangement has become increasingly the case since 1970. With this new approach, tribes administering their own educational programs have encountered difficulties such as developing an educational system which will meet their needs without an existing model to follow. Nevertheless, this is a welcomed change from the old paternal, non-Indian control of education.

The Indian Education Act monies which were released by the U.S. Office of Education in 1973 facilitated another positive change. Since there are as many Indian students in public schools as in Bureau or Reservation schools, it was past time that these students receive special assistance to meet their unique backgrounds and educational needs. These discretionary monies enabled alternative Indian schools to emerge as well as special counseling and tutorial programs. Adult education funds from this act also provided tribes and Indian organizations the opportunity to develop Adult Learning Centers for drop outs and adults who never had the chance to finish school. All of these efforts have had a tremendous impact on Indian education on the reservation as well as in the city.

Other federal monies earmarked for educating Indians recently have had different effects. Money for bilingual education, intended to focus more on "transition to English," has not had the impact

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on Native Americans that was originally intended. Many Indians would have preferred a bilingual effort where two languages are maintained, developed, and programmed. Some tribes have made use of this money; others have not.

The recent Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) monies are making a striking impact in some areas of Indian country. The training dollars available through these monies enable many poor adults to be trained in vocational skills. While stronger efforts by many prime sponsors could be made, these federal dollars are reaching a clientele heavily neglected in the past.

Federal programs specifically concerned with equal educational opportunity are supposed to aid Native Americans. However, because they deal with "integration," they have had little effect on the Indian community. Furthermore, in the large urban areas, the Indian student population is too small to be a part of desegregation efforts; therefore, Indians are not benefitting significantly from this program.

Additional federal legislative acts affecting Indian education are the Johnson O'Malley Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and vocational education legislation. They all, except for the latter, have had problems with actual service delivery to Indian students for many reasons. In any case, these monies should be impacting on Indian students throughout the United States. Other money to support Indian education is available from the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant, the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Finally, in some states, state money is expended on Indian education either for direct instructional services or for scholarship assistance.

Education Programs. To describe all of the educational programs affecting Indian people would be impossible. One program is "headstart". Most people associate this program with the public school systems, particularly in non-Indian urban areas; however, it is a strong program on many reservations. This educational endeavor is to prepare an Indian child for school through enrichment activities. Another program, bilingual education, has been developed by several tribes. One problem with such an educational approach is that of providing a balanced bilingual education program. The primary reason for this is that Indian languages are oral rather than written languages.

Along with the bilingual programs, there have emerged many cultural education programs. Each tribe, for example, wants to reconstruct its past history and record its present history, thereby promoting its cultural heritage. This has been a positive program wherever it has been developed. Finally, counseling and tutorial programs have also been developed.

Institutionally, several alternative elementary and secondary schools have been established. One example is the Indian Community School in Milwaukee. Tribal school systems have come into existence also. One recent development in this respect is the Miccosukee School System in Florida. Other tribes and urban areas have developed both traditional and alternative schools. Along with these schools, several Indian community and junior colleges have come into being. Among such schools are Navajo Community College, Haskell Junior College and Sinte Gleska. The one educational institution still needed is a viable Indian university.

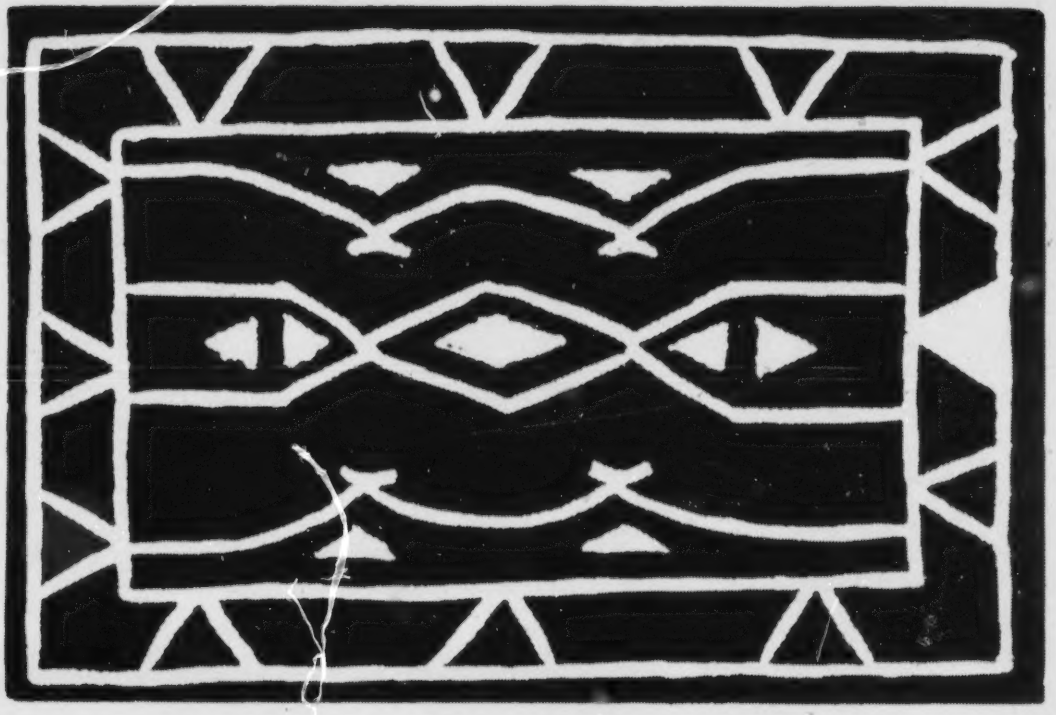
There are several Native American studies programs in universities which permit specialization in the fields of law, medicine, education, nursing, social work, and the administration of health, business, and education enterprises. Finally, there are increased developments in adult and vocational education throughout Indian communities.

Remaining Educational Needs and Problems. Two important factors which affect Indian education are the competition for educational dollars by other groups in our society and the persistent racism in America's society and institutions.

The greatest problem in Indian education continues to be the conflict of values and cultures between a uniquely Indian education program and a traditional education offering. Another difficulty is that one million Indians comprise 200 extant tribes; thus it is difficult to program for them across the board in respect to Indian history, culture and ideals.

Perhaps the greatest educational need, however, is to enable Indian people to be economically competitive by having proper educational and life-coping skills. If any training program can assist an Indian in this respect, such a program, in my opinion, is the best program for Indian people today.

Summary. Since 1970 there has been an increase in educational dollars available for Indian education. This has proliferated Indian programs on the reservations and in urban areas. These programs have been varied, and have influenced almost every age level. The 70's have produced a new consciousness among Indians who now realize that they have many educational opportunities and that they can control their own educational enterprises. If local control of Indian education continues to develop, the 1980's will be a decade of even stronger economic and community development among Indian people. Thereby, Indians will be able to function more effectively in American society and, at the same time, maintain their cultural heritage.◄



Facets of Racism And Native American Education

By Ann H. Beuf

There is much concern today that literacy is below national levels in the Native American population; the dropout rate for high school students is fifty percent higher than the rate for the rest of the nation. Fewer than eighteen percent of students in federally-run Native American schools go on to college. While Native American children begin school as enthusiastically as other children, several observers have noted a "turning off" of liveliness in the classroom by the sixth grade. (Chadwick, 1972)

While we must share this concern for the education of Native American children, we need not also share the tendency to locate the reasons for this failure in **them**. Instead, we must squarely address ourselves to the analysis of the manner in which the schools have failed the children. This failure has its origins in the original purpose for which Native American education was initiated: the systematic deculturation of Native American people. Their languages, religions, customs and values were dismissed by white educators as "savage" and "primitive." Nor was this deculturating experience long optional. The nineteenth century Native American parents who objected to it, simply awoke to find that their children had been taken to distant boarding schools.

This deculturation constitutes a "hidden curriculum" in Indian Education.

That hidden curriculum teaches subjection to white authority, disrespect for Native American customs and institutions, and a questioning of self-worth. This hidden curriculum involves the use of text-books which depict Native Americans as savages, history lessons which ignore the indigenous peoples of this continent while touting Western European ethnocentrism, the prejudice of individual teachers and the poor advice of guidance counsellors who believe Native Americans incapable of any really academic achievement. (Beuf, 1977)

It is with this hidden curriculum, and the manner in which it has operated to prevent success for Native American children in the **manifest** curriculum of the schools, that this article concerns itself. We shall examine this "hidden curriculum" from the perspective of race relations theory, by focusing on three forms of racism—individual, cultural, and institutional—as they contribute

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to the maintenance of a harmful educational environment.

Individual Racism. Individual racism: "suggests a belief in the superiority of one's own race over another, and the behavioral enactments that maintain those superior and inferior portions" (Jones, 1972). This is an **individual** phenomenon and is likely to be experienced by the urban Native American child or reservation child who is bussed to an integrated public school.

The urban Native American youngster especially confronts a cluster of difficulties unknown to the reservation child, difficulties which have to do with racial membership and self-esteem. Other children may taunt and tease the Native American child, pulling on a full media-learned repertoire of racial stereotypes. Name-calling is common and fights break out. Teachers may not handle racial incidents when they occur, or may ignore the racial component of an incident, treating it "just like any two kids in a fight." (Beuf, 1976)

Burnett states that teachers in some Native American schools have been observed using unfavorable terms to describe the children's home environment (Barnett and Koster, 1974). For example, "all right, go ahead and talk while we're working, if you want to spend the rest of your life in some old hogan.*"

Teachers may themselves be prejudiced. Unlike reservation teachers, who have chosen to work with Native Americans, other teachers have probably never entertained the thought of Native American students until a couple of them appear in the classroom (Havighurst and Fuchs, 1972). Some teachers overtly support the racism of the white students, as the teacher who says to a white child, "That's okay, you don't have to sit next to him (Indian child)." Other teachers may simply ignore their Native American students, going a full academic year without ever addressing them personally. Still others make an effort at cordiality, only to give themselves away in their reluctance to touch a Native American child.

While individual racism may be harmful, its overall impact on Native American education is not really so pervasive as that of the cultural and institutional forms of racism.

Cultural Racism. Jones defines cultural racism as "the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one race's cultural heritage over that of another race." He goes on, "It is a matter of cultural racism when the achievements of a race of people are fully ignored in education. It is a matter of cultural racism when the expression of cultural differences is unrewarded, or is interpreted negatively" (Jones, 1972).

Cultural racism has been most visible in the following educational phenomena: the near-absence of Native Americans from history texts; the negatively stereotyped images of those who do appear; the insistence that Anglo culture, especially its values, language and religious belief, constitutes a superior culture to which Native American children must conform while denying their own heritage.

Institutional Racism. Why does cultural racism persist? What purposes does it serve? In this case, the answers are many and complex, but one general answer is: It began as a rationalization for the taking of Native American resources and the subjugation of Native American people, and it continues to maintain such rationalization. Further, the rigid allocation of Native American people to the lowest positions in social hierarchies is then turned on Native Americans themselves as proof that they can occupy only these positions. This structuring of positions leads us to the role of institutional racism in the education of Native American children.

Institutional racism is: first, a deliberate arranging of social institutions so as to perpetuate the existing hierarchy (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967) and, second, "the by product of certain institutional practices which operate to restrict, on a racial basis, the choices, rights, mobility and access of groups of individuals" (Jones, 1972). Thus, it may be a conscious or an unconscious characteristic of a society.

In a sense, much of the material discussed above can be recast in light of this definition. Individual racism on the part of peers and teachers and cultural racism phenomena, such as the ignoring or stereotyping of Native Americans in texts, are the ways in which individual and cultural racism function in such ways as to produce a situation of institutional racism. For example, the established norm of excluding from the school curriculum any reference to the contributions that Native Americans have made to American society, has its roots in the culturally racist notion that only Anglos have something to contribute. Thus such practices become a part of institutionalized racism in being a norm in a major institution of social life that limits the definition of "contributions." Similarly the testing of non-English speaking children in English reflects the culturally racist notion that only English is a valid language, while it is institutionally racist in labelling Native Americans as less able than white, thus preventing thousands of children from attaining educational and thus occupational mobility.

The deliberate exclusion of Native American people from school boards and other decision-making groups concerned with education is a form of deliberate institutional racism, as is the discrimination in employment and the colonization of Native American territory which have functioned as contributors to the widespread poverty which continues to plague many Native American families. The poverty and unemployment of educated elders may lead children to give up on education.

School systems, themselves, reflect the institutional racism of the society at large. Native Americans frequently serve as aides, cooks and janitors while the teachers and principals are white. Children cannot help but observe these correlations between race and power, thereby they gain a sense of futility about their own futures. This coalition of individual, cultural and institutional racism produces the "hidden curriculum" in the schools, lowering self-esteem, presenting irrelevant subject matter, assessing bright children as "learning disabled" and producing discouragement

and resentment in a generation which has begun to sense the meaning of Red Power.

Community control of the schools seems to be of the utmost importance. Native American authority alone can eliminate the image of the powerful white and the powerless Native American. Some suggestions for specific policies are set forth here.

In order to approach prejudiced individuals, and exert some control over individual racism, it should be required that any teacher who teaches Native American children should earn certification in those children's Native American culture. Further, teachers should be made aware of their responsibility to deal with individual racism on the part of white students.

The following policies should be instituted in the area of cultural racism:

1. Materials used in teaching all children should be freed of misrepresentation of the Native American group. The use of the naked-savage image in early education should be stopped.
2. Testing of Native American children with biased "Princeton Testing Empire" tests should be stopped. Such tests as the Draw-A-Man test are sufficient to separate out severly disturbed or retarded children for special schools. The use and development of culture-free tests should be encouraged. A child's intellectual growth over a given period of time can be determined by a comparison of early work to later work. It takes more time and effort, but it is fairer. After all, it is the steps taken by the child that matters, not where he or she stands on a meaningless national curve.
3. Bi-lingual programs should be established wherever a Native American language is the language spoken in the homes of the children.
4. Native American religious belief should be accorded the same respect in schools as religions of the Judeo-Christian tradition.
5. The cooperative ethos of Native American culture should be adapted to the classroom. Teaching techniques which encourage group rather than individual accomplishments should be developed.

Institutional racism, more subtle and more entrenched, is harder to deal with. Several rather wide-sweeping changes will be necessary to eradicate "the hidden curriculum" and provide Native American children with real educational opportunity.

6. Guaranteed annual income sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living (health, nutrition, housing, clothing) must be provided Native American families.
7. Community control of their children's education should become a reality for Native American communities.
8. A country that can send men to the moon can build local schools. There is no need for boarding schools at great distance from the children's homes.
9. More Native Americans should be employed at all levels (including such prestigious roles as principal and superintendent) of the schools. Scholarships should be made available to native American students who wish to become certified teachers.
10. Schools should provide comprehensive physical examinations. Problems of sight and hearing and of nutrition, which can impair the academic performance of children, would thus be detected early enough in a child's lifetime to be remedied before psychological damage is added to physical disability. In the same spirit, nutritious hot meals should be provided, free, for all children of poor families.

From the times of the first arrival of white settlers in North American until the present, "wisdom," "intelligence" and "education" have been defined differently by the two cultural groups—but the white definition has been forcibly imposed upon the lives of uncounted Native American children. An educational approach which appreciates and cherishes cultural differences, rather than penalizes them, can open the door to Native American accomplishments in education.◄

*a traditionally constructed Navajo home.

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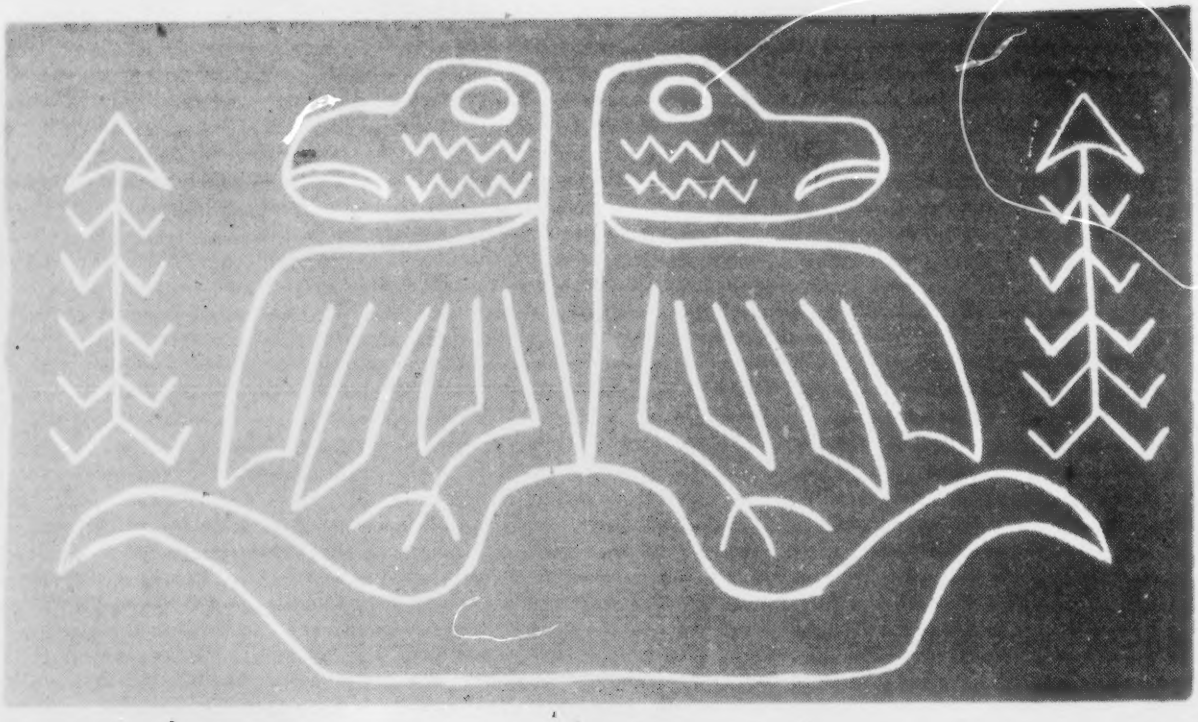


Chris Gonzales

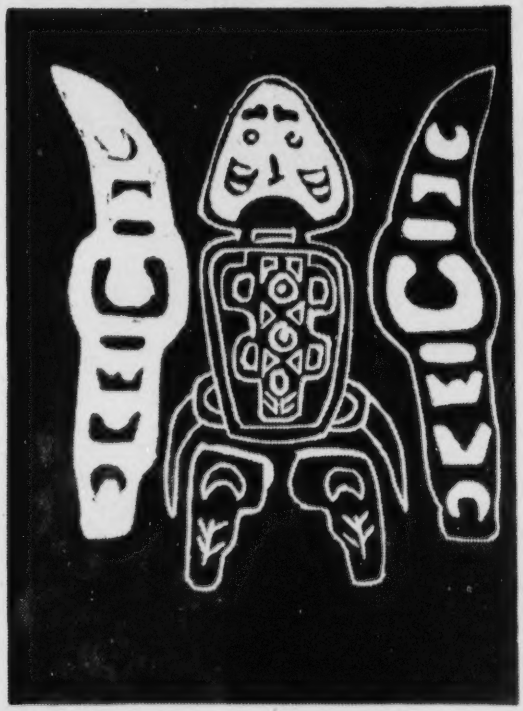
Cross-Cultural Education In Alaska:
Three Scenarios

The three articles which follow bring together a variety of experiences associated with the different role each author has played in providing learning opportunities for the Native Alaskans. In the first article, Judith Kleinfeld praises the contribution of parochial schools to the education of Indian and Eskimo adolescents in Alaska during a period of rapid cultural change. She touches on such important aspects as the fostering in students not of competition, but of concern and responsibility for each other; the warm, personal relationships between teachers and students; and, above all, a curriculum that conforms to **their** interests and needs, not to "white ways and white values."

The second article, by John Niemi, begins with a brief historical sketch of efforts to create learning opportunities for Native adults in Alaska. It notes the early attempts to acculturate them to the values of American society, and describes current programs designed to help them rediscover their ethnicity, while acquiring the skills needed to cope with new roles and responsibilities thrust upon them with the settlement of the Native land claims. The books and materials being developed stress coping skills while containing references to their tradition and lore. Also, training programs are being designed to prepare Native teachers to return to their villages to work with their own people.

The final article, by Bill and Jean Burand, is a deeply personal chronicle of their experiences as they travelled to countless Alaskan villages for many years. Their purpose was to help Native Alaskans to learn the skills they need. When the Burands emphasize such qualities in teachers as respect for the Native cultures, sincerity, alertness, knowledge, and the conviction that students must be involved in learning, they are their own best examples.

The common thread that runs through the fabric of these three articles is the authors' deep concern that all those associated with cross-cultural education will respect the cultures of the Native Alaskans. As the Burands put it, "One must be willing to accept their values and standards as suitable for them, without passing judgement, and to want sincerely to share learning experiences."◄



Jamie Guzman

Are Parochial Schools In Alaska More Successful In Educating Indian And Eskimo Adolescents?

By Judith Kleinfeld

The purpose of this article is to draw attention to the effects of parochial schools in Indian education. In searching for more effective approaches to teaching Indian and Eskimo students, educators tend to ignore these schools. They are out of the usual communication networks. They evoke images of moral rigidity, authoritarian climates, and dogmatic narrowness. Yet the literature on Indian education contains scattered references to parochial schools that seem to have been atypically successful in cross-cultural instruction. For example:

—A study (Kohout, 1974) comparing the college success of Alaska Native students from different types of high schools found that parochial school graduates were significantly more likely to enter college and to succeed academically. Parochial school graduates did substantially better than graduates from public boarding schools. However, their academic skills were no higher than those of village students who had attended other types of high schools. This might suggest that parochial school graduates may be distinguished by other characteristics, such as higher motivation or internal resources that enable them to avoid social problems.

—A study of the difficulties of Sioux adolescents in public high schools concludes with the remark that "young people attending the Catholic mission school do not seem to develop the 'adolescent withdrawal' reaction to anywhere near the degree of young people who attend the Bureau (of Indian Affairs) day schools". (Way, 1968, p. 1487)

—In a follow-up study of Indian high school graduates from eighteen southwestern high schools which included four parochial schools, Michener (1973) indicated these preliminary findings:

1) Parochial schools do not excel in facilities, modern curriculum (one required Latin), or certification criteria, but their graduates are quite discernible in many ways.
2) Parochial schools have a much higher percentage of completers (5-10 times) greater than public schools and (10-20 times) greater than BIA graduates in terms of college completion.
3) While the differences are less noticeable, parochial school graduates achieve a high degree of vocational and technical skills.
4) Because parochial schools have a disproportionately high representation among the tribal leaders, parochial educational inputs may have greater feedback to Indian communities than do public and BIA schools.

I have recently completed an intensive study of a Catholic boarding school in Alaska which exemplifies this pattern. The school enrolls Eskimo students from small remote villages who are not especially talented academically. The school has poor facilities and equipment, no special bicultural or vocational programs, and no local control or other mechanisms for involving Eskimo parents. Most of the classroom teaching is done by young volunteers who lack professional training in cross-cultural education and who do not have teaching certification. Yet Eskimo graduates from this parochial school do significantly better in college than do other village students. They appear to adapt well when they return to a village

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environment and they are particularly active in community service. What is striking about these graduates is not only external indicators of "success" but, also, qualities of inner integration noteworthy in a period of rapid, disorganizing cultural change. Collier (1973, p. 123) describes these students in a film study of Eskimo education: "As a group they were the most eloquent, effectual, and assured students observed in our study...(They) appeared to have durable personalities that had definitely been strengthened within education." Graduates from this parochial school recall their high school with pride and affection. Many credit it with having significantly influenced their personal growth. As one wrote on a follow-up survey:

> I strongly feel now that it is a very great school with very interested teachers who really aim to teach...Thinking back I can say now that's when I learned to see people as people, like close friends, who never will end their friendship. (This school) helped me to look at life more like a challenge and a healthy adventure, and it not only taught me chemistry and math; it helped me as a person, and I am very happy I went there.

In the forthcoming study, I will detail what happens educationally in this school and what may underlie the graduates' unusual success. In the space of this brief article, I can only outline a few key differences between this Catholic boarding school and public high schools involved in Indian education.

This parochial school is based on an implicit theory of cross-cultural education radically different from the principles underlying the operation of public high schools. What it views as central aims of education, the public schools do not regard as goals. What it views as crucial processes of education, the public schools do not regard as methods. In the public schools, the fundamental educational objective is **technical** instruction, teaching knowledge and skills. The schools offer Indian and Eskimo adolescents generally what schools offer everywhere — reading and mathematics, history and science, and assorted vocational skills. In a cross-cultural context, this education lacks legitimacy. It is deplored as "white studies for brown students," a "curriculum laid down by culture-bound white values" (Collier, 1973, p. 123). Even where Native language and culture classes are added to the other subjects, educators point out that the inner structure of the school, its hidden curriculum, still teaches "white ways and white values."

Public school teachers have absorbed this viewpoint from the general climate of ideas current in educational thought. It is also pressed on them by the political pressures on the schools where they teach. The results have damaged the education that Indian and Eskimo students receive. The teachers' sense of participating in a system at best irrelevant and at worst harmful makes them uncertain of what, if any, academic or behavioral demands they can legitimately make on students. Lacking confidence in the value of what they are doing, they can present subject content, but they cannot motivate. They cannot fulfill what Whitehead (1959) has called the second function of the teacher: to create from one's own personality and commitment the "sense of value, the sense of importance" (p. 63).

In contrast, the parochial school I studied had a strong sense of legitimate purpose. The fundamental educational objective was not technical instruction. It was to help students growing up in a period of confused, fragmented life patterns to develop a coherent set of inner principles that would organize experience and provide direction for life. This philosophy of education was not the result of conscious deliberations on educational goals. It was an organic consensus, a world-view deriving from the similar Catholic socialization of the school staff. In interviews where I asked staff to describe "the kind of Native student the school was trying to produce," 59 percent spontaneously mentioned the development of inner strength and emotional stability. The head of the school pointed out that he had seen many Native students who had the technical skills necessary to succeed, but who did not have the "socialization to cope." As another staff member described this aim:

> Someone who has the strength, the inner resources, to cope with life. Someone who stands on his own two feet and is not always trying to escape. He faces problems and doesn't have to resort to alcohol to escape.

The specific value system upheld by the school centered not on individual achievement, but on concern and responsibility for others. Developing this ethic in students was a goal mentioned by 55 percent of the staff. These basic human values could be expressed in whatever cultural context the student chose:

> A boy or girl who leaves (this school) and works either in a village or in a city, whatever they decide on, does so with an outlook for the good of people.

The principles which guided the school were consistent with traditional Eskimo ideals that still formed part of students' primary identity framework. In interviews where students were asked to describe "good things people did in the village that made others like and think well of them," 75 percent of the group talked about helping others through such activities as sharing food and packing water for old people. The school extended this primary value framework to crucial areas of adolescent and adult life, such as social relationships in the dormitory and the choice of a vocation. This system helped adolescents solve the key developmental task of identity formation (Erikson, 1959); for example, finding directions for life that merge childhood values and identifications with available social roles that bring respect. The school developed this value framework by creating a total school society which was itself ordered by the school's principles. The manner in which the school organized recreational activities illustrates how this was done.

In contrast to public boarding schools, the recreational program of the parochial schools was not viewed as entertainment or as a

means to work off physical energy to keep students occupied. First, activities were consciously presented to students as ways in which they could help the school. Because the school was too poor to afford a special recreation director, the students themselves organized weekend events. Responsibility for putting on a big Friday night activity for all the students and staff—a dance, carnival, picnic, talent show—rotated among each class of students. Responsibility for putting on smaller Saturday night activities in each dormitory section—games, a movie, a student-staff slumber party—rotated among dormitory rooms. In the monotony of boarding school life, these activities were eagerly anticipated. A group that put on a good activity received acclaim from students and staff. A group that put on a poor activity felt embarrassed.

Second, activities were explicitly presented to the students as ways they could develop organizational skills that would be useful later on in organizing community activities in the village. Leadership was taught systematically at the school much in the way that typing or any other skill would be taught. In planning activities in class homeroom periods, students learned a pattern of (a) defining alternatives, (b) examining their feasibility, (c) revising initial plans, and (d) assigning task responsibility. The seniors carried out these organizational tasks with practiced ease. The freshmen who had not yet learned them required continual teacher direction and explanation as to why they should "have to do it."

Despite its high degree of structure and formal classroom arrangement, the parochial school generated a warm group climate very different from the impersonal atmosphere characteristic of public high schools. In evaluating the school, 53 percent of the students spontaneously mentioned the satisfying emotional climate of unity, group spirit, and friendliness. Of the group, 24 percent brought up, specifically, their positive relationships with staff. The teachers, primarily young volunteers, who boarded at the school, spent a great deal of time outside of class just talking to students and helping them with homework. The ideal of unity among the student group was another explicit emphasis of the school. Staff frequently discussed with students the importance of helping each other with homework and personal problems. Staff also combatted tendencies of students from the same village to remain in isolated cliques.

Many of the specific educational methods of this parochial school could benefit public schools involved in Indian education. School activities, which are so important to students, could be used to pursue important educational ends. For example, the value of warm personal relationships established between teachers and students outside of the classroom needs to be brought to the attention of public school educators. The fundamental question, however, is what, if any, contribution of public schools can make in helping Indian and Eskimo students growing up in a period of rapid cultural change develop basic values. Specifically, is the secularism of the public schools in itself a barrier to meeting crucial developmental needs?

Yet, religion is not the critical factor. Schools that exercise powerful effects on students' values are not necessarily religious schools (Jacob, 1957). These schools are generally private, usually small residential schools which have the freedom to select staff and students who support the distinctive value climate that the school is trying to create. These schools have the opportunity to exert influence over many facets of a student's life. Educators should explore the potential of private schools in Indian education, or of special public schools for the purpose of achieving specific outcomes, one of which might be leadership.

Of course, schools are not the only institution for exerting educational influence. In many societies, youth organizations play a crucial role in helping adolescents solidify a value commitment. In Alaska, there have been intriguing, often undocumented reports of the success of certain religious youth groups. These groups provide an atmosphere of peer support for a value stance oriented against drinking and toward individual responsibility. Youth organizations may participate in significant educational tasks which are very difficult to accomplish in public schools.

The major lesson to be learned from parochial schools involved in Indian education is the importance of a school's intangible climate of purpose. In striving to avoid ethnocentrism, while pursuing a curriculum which teaches "white ways and white values," the public schools have become nervous and uncertain institutions. If schools are to develop students with self-confidence, clear identity, and direction, they must develop these qualities in themselves. ◄

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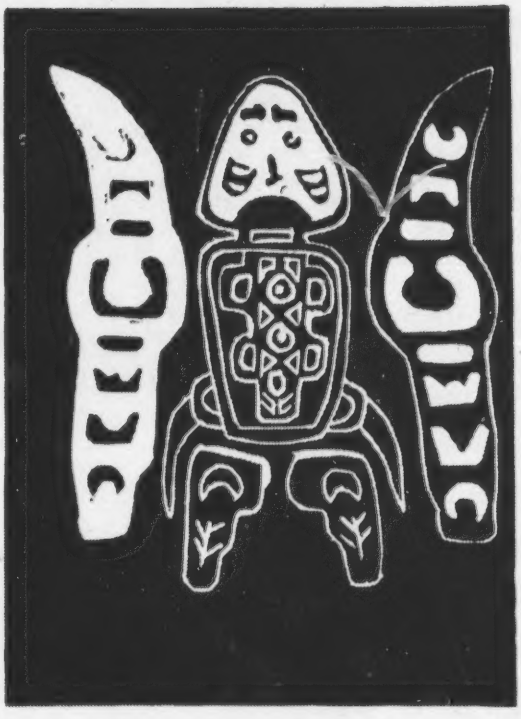
Cross-Cultural Education For Native Adults In Alaska: An Overview of Programs



Jamie Guzman

By John A. Niemi

Introduction. After ninety-one years of federal control, Alaska was assured self-government when the United States Senate ratified the statehood bill on June 30, 1958. The transition from territorial status to state status placed enormous responsibilities on the residents of Alaska, who were required, almost overnight, to take charge of numerous activities previously conducted by federal agencies. Foremost among those demands was, of course, the establishment of a system of government to administer an area of 586,400 square miles which, in 1960, had a scattered population of 226,167. Of that number, 43,081 were Native Alaskans (USBC, 1961, pp. 3-15), who have been defined as individuals with one-fourth or more Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut blood. This indigenous population consists of four Indian linguistic groups—Athabascan, Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimpshean; two Eskimo groups — the Inupiat and the Yupik; and the Aleut. Together they make up the native population of Alaska.

The greatest resource upon which Alaskans could draw during the transition phase was its people, 51.5 percent of whom lived in communities of less than 1,000 (USBC, 1961). They had little formal education. Thus, even though a high level of education existed in communities over 1,000, Alaska ranked thirty-third among the states in the percent of population twenty-five and over with less than five years of schooling (FPSAW, 1961, p. 120). A large segment of the population having limited formal education consisted of Natives who resided in rural areas.

The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of the attempts that have been made to remedy the situation; that is, to examine briefly the adult education programs designed **for** and (more important in recent years) **with** Native adults to help them cope with the changes wrought by the collision between the various Native cultures and the dominant American culture. It is important to point out here that the early educational policies and practices created for Native Alaskans by American government agencies and institutions closely resembled the colonial policies and practices instituted elsewhere by other Western cultures. In general, the well-meaning aim was to acculturate the natives to the traditions and mores of the newcomers. Consequently, many of the problems under attack in rural Alaska today are similar to those facing countries in the Third World. Attempts to acculturate Native Alaskans were based on the goals of the dominant American society, which neither appreciated nor took account of the uniqueness of the environment and the strengths of the Native cultures. A graphic account of this attitude, and of the way in which the missionaries regarded the Native Alaskans in this early period, emerges in this report by Chance:

> Uncivilized, dirty, and uninhibited, these people were frequently considered inferior creatures of Divine Creation. Efforts to civilize the Native included attempts at destroying the Native language, culture and religion, instilling guilt over barbarous customs, and promoting new forms of behavior and

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thought acceptable to western custom. Government policies of the period stressed education for rapid economic and cultural assimilation. (Change, 1972, p. 4)

Adult Education—Colonial Period. During the early colonial period, extending from the purchase of Alaska to World War II, only limited attention was paid to the educational needs of Native Alaskan adults, other than continued efforts by missionaries to Christianize them. During the New Deal, the Natives fared well with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Acts, which made it possible for them to organize village councils and encouraged them to set up other councils to establish and administer co-operative stores. However, because neither the store councils nor the managers received any training in their responsibilities, the stores frequently operated "in the red" (Hopkins, 1972, pp. 56-57). The need for basic skills in order to cope with these new roles, and so to survive in the new "cash" economy, was almost totally ignored until World War II. The impetus it provided was reported by Hughes:

> ...there is no question that the great spurt in daily use of, acquaintance with, and dependence upon money began with World War II. And with this there also began a change in dominant activity through which none was acquired...now increasingly it is derived from wages, salaries, or welfare and aid payments. (Hughes, 1965, p. 34)

Later, in the Fall of 1957, the need for adult education to enable adults to deal with the changes was recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which supplied funds to initiate formal adult education programs in four communities. Later, the number was expanded to thirteen communities. The discouraging problems faced by the BIA in launching the new programs was described by Crites in a BIA pamphlet:

> If we have a community where an adult education program is in demand, and there are no quarters, we can't give them a program. That is why we employ spouses of teachers for this work. Later on there will be talk of putting adult education units at larger stations. Eight communities where adult education started no longer have the program. In some instances, the units were discontinued because the adult instructor moved away. In one or two cases, it was reported that the community lost interest in the program.
>
> The adult education program is operated through the organizational setup of our regular program. It is the stepchild in some instances. When an educational specialist goes into a community, he often feels that his first obligation is to the regular school program. When the time comes to talk about the adult education program, it is time to leave. Or he may shy away from it because he does not know much about it. (BIA, 1960, p. 2)

While these early efforts to provide adult education within the rural school were being pursued, the University of Alaska's Cooperative Extension Service was reaching out to all areas of the state to inform and to demonstrate good practices. A personal account of the work of a home demonstration agent in rural Alaska appears in the Burands' essay which is included in this issue of **THRESHOLDS.**

Adult Education—Statehood to the Present. The BIA's efforts to provide adult education to Natives in the rural areas of Alaska continued to experience difficulties due, in some measure, to the departure of teachers, many of whom were transferred. However, problems relating to motivation of the Natives and the relevance of instruction loomed large, as Mott implied in an interview by Niemi:

> At Arctic Village, the initial enrollment in the program included most of the community's adults. Thirty-three individuals began the program in December, 1961. In April of 1963, four men and three women were left of the initial group. Six of these individuals were advanced students in the middle grade level of course material. One of the remaining students was a beginning reader. This program's instructor complained of the lack of individual initiative. (Niemi, 1963, p. 16)

A major problem with the above program and with other BIA programs was that, after enrolling, Native adults perceived them merely as further schooling that promised very limited application to their lives in the village. However, as the Natives gravitated increasingly to the urban areas, the demand for basic skills to cope with a cash economy continued to grow. So did the recognition that programs must be based on conditions peculiar to Alaska. In 1962, the Ford Foundaion study entitled **Continuing Education in Alaska,** warned:

> We have stated the general principle that it is essential to prepare Alaskan people for the tasks and responsibilities of Alaska, not depend upon bringing in workmen from outside the State. This general principle needs to be applied with particular emphasis and urgency to programs for the Native peoples. (Kidd et al., 1962, p. 105)

The desire to develop the potential of the human resources of Alaska encountered difficulties immediately after statehood, because many Native adults lacked the basic literacy skills needed to prepare for employment or retraining. One feasibility study for a pilot project that would use Domestic Peace Corps staff to offer basic adult education in the Athabascan villages of Fort Yukon, Beaver, Venetie and Chalkyitsik was developed by Niemi in 1963. However, it was not until 1966, with the passage of the Federal Adult Basic Education Act, that an all-out plan for adult basic education programs emerged in Alaska. This plan initially gave priority to developing programs in geographic areas with a higher concentration of people. The emphasis was on meeting the needs of adults with less than six years of schooling. Three years later, in 1969, Bland conducted a revealing ABE needs assessment study for the State of Alaska. Originally designed to embrace the total population of the state, the study was later limited to rural Alaska,

because she assumed that the needs of adults residing in the major population areas (Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau-Douglas, Ketchikan, Kodiak, the Matanuska Valley, and the Kenai Peninsula) were being addressed by agencies within the municipalities. On the basis of available field data, she estimated that

> fifty percent of the Native population over age 18 have completed less than five years of schooling; 39 percent of the Native population over age 18 have completed less than eight, but more than five years of schooling; 11 percent of the Native population over age 18 have completed eight or more years of schooling. (Bland, 1969, p. 16)

One of Bland's recommendations, based on these figures for rural Alaska, was that innovative programs should be designed with the help of village leaders and with the resources of federal, state, and other agencies.

During this period of planning and assessing educational needs, Native Alaskans pursued, through the Alaska Federation of Natives, settlement of their land claims with the Federal Government. Then, with the discovery of oil and the decision to build a pipeline to Valdez, that settlement grew urgent. Success came with the passage of the Alaska Native Claim Settlement Act in 1971. It resulted in the establishment of twelve profit-making corporations to handle problems bearing on the title to 40,000,000 acres and a financial settlement amounting to $962.5 million. While this settlement endowed the Natives with virtual autonomy in their own affairs, it also caught many of them totally unprepared to assume the new responsibilities thrust upon them. The situation, which dramatized the acute need for meaningful adult education programs to help Natives to deal with these new roles, was complicated by their rediscovery of the concept of ethnicity. A major implication of this revival of pride in Native origins and traditions was that people responsible for planning ABE programs could not hope to solve problems distinctive to the Alaskan setting by referring to research and practice in other states.

Foremost among those problems was the need for trained staff and curriculum materials based on the Alaskan scene. In the attempt to provide trained staff, a number of approaches have been tried. The use in rural Alaska of Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA) workers from other states, as facilitators of community development and teachers, led to the design of an Alaskan VISTA. Under this program, which was a joining project between VISTA and the State of Alaska, Natives were selected for training as community VISTA volunteers who would return to their home villages and conduct ABE classes. An immediate problem that these Native teachers faced was a lack of adequate curriculum materials relevant to the Alaskan setting and suitable to Native Alaskans with minimal reading skills. The available commercial materials seemed totally unsuited for their needs.

The numerous requests for culturally relevant materials led, in 1972, to the funding of a special experimental demonstration project known as the Adult Literary Laboratory (ALL) at Anchorage Community College. Its purpose is to develop materials capable of being used by para-professionals, or Native teachers, possessing limited training. The content of these adult materials, which emphasized reading and mathematics, was written in English. During their first three years, ALL staff produced 34 books and conducted field-testing of them in twenty villages. A unique feature of this operation was the commitment made by the Native teacher, who accepted responsibility for trying out the new materials, providing feedback on their effectiveness, and generating ideas for revising them and/or designing new materials to meet the emerging needs of the people. In observance of the cultural diferences among Eskimo and Indian groups, great care was taken with the design of illustrations and the setting, as MacAlpine indicates:

> Because of the several different Native cultures in Alaska, the setting and type of illustrations vary. The first series deals with the life of a family living along an inland river. The second series deals with the life of an old man who lives in a coastal village. (1974, p. 177)

In addition, supplementary readers were written which included old stories from the Indian and Eskimo oral traditions. This move to instill pride in particular Native cultures, and so to focus on ethnicity, helped to motivate new readers and, at the same time, to preserve their cultural heritage. The staff also wrote special interest books (relating to income tax, for example) which focused on necessary "coping skills" and enjoyed wide use among agencies such as the BIA, State Operated Schools, and a number of regional native corporations. In the development of life skill material to cope with new demands, ALL was extremely successful in meeting specific needs through their materials on the Alaska Native Claims Act. From the expertise acquired through this project, ALL staff have been able to do contract work concerned with developing how-to-do-it craft books for the Tanana Survival School of the Tanana Chiefs Conference.

To return to the training of staff, a number of agencies and institutions have borne that responsibility. In the early days of statehood, Alaska's Department of Vocational and Adult Education facilitated such training by using staff development funds to send ABE teachers to university-sponsored workshops at major universities in the "South 48." Training in Alaska was conducted at major urban sites and in the field, utilizing staff from successful large urban programs. An example was the ABE Program at Anchorage Community College, where 25 percent of ABE adult students are Natives. Also, consultants were drawn from a number of universities and agencies to give non-credit workshops in the field, as well as University of Alaska credit courses at the senior colleges at Fairbanks, Anchorage, and Juneau. An important segment of the training of ABE teachers in rural Alaska involved the small ALL

staff in workshops and in direct communication aimed at disseminating ALL materials to teachers in order to gain feedback from them. Also, to meet the continuously expanding training needs of these adult educators, Alaska joined a four-state consortium (Alaska, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington) whose Region X Adult Education Staff Development Program coordinates training and resources. In Alaska, the Director of the Region X Program is currently pushing the development of a Master's degree at one of the major Alaskan universities and suggesting a regional doctoral degree.

Meantime, in rural Alaska, where many teachers lack a formal high school education, an important adult education degree program has been established at KusKoKwin Community College. This innovative Associate of Arts degree program offers maximum flexibility in order to meet the needs of adult education teachers in the Yukon-KusKoKwin region that covers 60,000 square miles. The population of the service area is approximately 85 percent Alaskan Native—Yupik Eskimo and Athabascan Indian who reside in fifty villages. Delivery of courses follows a variety of methods, e.g., workshops, semester-long courses, televised courses, self-study courses, and on-the-job training. (KCC, 1976)

These opportunities for Native Alaskans to assume roles as teachers of adults are symbolic of a new era in Alaska—an era marked by their taking increasing charge of their own destinies. And, to assist Native adults in coping with fresh demands as these arise, Native corporations and other agencies are co-ordinating their efforts in the design of needed programs. The future indeed is bright for Native adults, one of whom expresses his optimism and self-confidence thus:

> We as Alaskan Natives have been asked from time to time if our participation in the economic community is going to be fully realized, will we be prepared for this unique, meaningful, but nevertheless new experience. My reply is usually this. If this implies any question as to whether or not we are going to make a few mistakes, why I will guarantee that we will. Obviously we are going to make mistakes. But depending on which society makes the mistakes, they are sometimes called "a learning experience." (Borbridge, 1970, p. 203)◄

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Jamie Guzman

Teaching Non-Credit Courses to Adults In Remote Alaskan Villages: A Personal Account

By Willow (Bill) M.
and Jean K. Burand

For most of our working lives in Alaska, we travelled the length and breadth of this land in response to requests for informal, non-credit adult education classes. Most of our work took place in the remote villages of the 49th state. Bill's subject matter area was mineral identification, mining law, and mining and prospecting; while Jean was concerned with sharing her knowledge and skills in home economics with young and old friends who came to learn. Bill's involvement was with the Mining Extension Program while Jean's was with the Cooperative Extension Service. These form part of the University of Alaska's rural education program. The students we taught ranged all the way from non-readers through high school graduates, and occasionally included post-college participants. As in other states, the more isolated the area, the lower the educational level was apt to be.

Requests for University of Alaska classes still come from villages and towns all over the state as rapidly as people become aware of what there is to want; thus, cultivating awareness becomes an educational goal in itself. As people heard about the fun others had, they asked that university teachers come to their village, wherever it might be in the 586,400 square miles that make up Alaska. Sometimes the requests were made one or even two years in advance of the actual consumation, as schedules were often full and certain advance preparation was necessary. In a more structured setting, some of these preparations are frequently taken for granted. In cross-cultural teaching, it is specially important for each participant to understand and communicate with the other. When working in an Alaskan village, as with other community groups, the difference between success and failure can be the identification of the real local leadership. The true leaders are not always the vocal ones. It was found, for example, that while the mostly male village councils were the titular heads, the true legitimizer was often an elderly matriarch resting by the heater. The channels for gaining approval of proposed activities vary from village to village, but the time spent in gaining such approval is well spent, as only then it is possible to proceed with assurance of cooperation.

The following incidents illustrate some of the problems encountered in this work and some of the lessons that were learned:

Mineral Identification (Bill). No electric lights or water in the community hall? Primitive conditions in many Eskimo and Indian villages require innovations and a great deal of cooperative planning. The first time the mining class was taught at Shaktoolik, an Eskimo village on Norton Sound, we met in the village community hall, a 20' x 30' shell of whipsawed driftwood planks with no electricity or water. Plywood and more driftwood had been transformed into benches and tables. A blackboard had been borrowed from the school. The oil-drum heater avidly consumed piles of beach driftwood gathered by the class members. Each evening these same villagers carried buckets of water from the nearby Bureau of Indian Affairs School for testing, clean-up and safety in the event of acid burns. The water itself had to be cleaned with demineralizer resins before it

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could be used in tests. Propane torches were substituted for blowpipes. Safety methods and proper handling of chemicals, as explained by the instructor, were effectively enforced by each participant; so there was not a single injury.

Laboratory experiments following the very first lecture told us that gasoline and kerosene lanterns did not provide enough light to recognize color, streak, or luster, as needed to determine the specific chemical test for identifying the mineral specimens. Someone suggested borrowing the 100-volt portable generator from the church and going to the school to borrow bulbs and wire to string lights in the hall. No time was lost and the generator performed well during all our three-hour classes, which went on five nights a week for a month while the men hauled the generator back to church each Sunday and on Wednesday evenings for services.

Clothing Construction (Jean). "Elsie can't hear or talk, but she wants to come anyway. Is it okay?" When I heard this query, I knew, first, that the answer had to be yes and, second, that I had to do some special planning for her to be able to derive needed satisfaction from the clothing construction class. All worked out very well. Elsie sat up front, I tried to face her when speaking and, by observing her reactions, improved my demonstrations and learned to form my words more exactly and more slowly, so that she could lip-read. She never had to wait for help or for a sewing machine. All of us exulted in her achievement. The other class members said they liked my teaching better when Elsie was there, because "you use hands more and that way is easier to learn."

Meal Planning (Jean). "A fox attacked a dog team, but we killed it." The books say that the instructor should be calm, cool, and collected. That's fine, but I blew up one time and made a friend of an entire village. To them, the explosion of emotion proved my sincerity in caring what happened. Shungnak men, living north of the Arctic Circle on Alaska's beautiful Kobuk River, told me of a fight between two dog teams and a fox. As they described the behavior of the fox, my mind flew to rabies and I came unglued. Years before I had seen a human being with rabies and the memory still stirs horror and panic. I broke all the rules, issuing orders to the village men insisting that the now-dead fox be decapitated immediately and the head sent in for testing, and that the rest of the carcass and the entire site of the fight be burned, despite the snow cover—and that all this be done yesterday without touching anything with bare hands. Furthermore, the involved dogs were to be tied and isolated. Heavens knows what the outcome for me would have been had the verdict of rabies been contradicted. However, the fox had been rabid. My caring was evident and the villagers still tease me: "You funny when you scared." Class attendance was consistently high after we started meal planning and food preparation classes the following day.

Living, like learning, is a two-way street, and it is important for instructors to listen. Teaching is more satisfying if teachers are learning, too. To teach those of a different culture, one must be willing to accept their values and standards as suitable for them, without passing judgment, and to sincerely want to share learning experiences.

The following reflections on the tasks and attitudes of the group and the instructor are distilled from our Alaska experience:

The Group (villagers, adult students, or whoever is involved) *must as far as possible:*

1. Have a voice and an investment in plans and goals: what, why, when, where, how, costs in home and money.
2. Have a personal investment, such as books, fabric, tools, etc.
3. Be encouraged to evaluate subject matter freely for timeliness, usefulness, relevance to changes in lifestyles or practices.
4. Have personal commitment to take part in all group activities and to use and share new skill or knowledge.

All this is preliminary to the beginning of instruction and is neither formal nor formidable.

The Instructor must:

1. **Be sincere.** This involves faith in and dedication to the goals and principles of the assumed task and in the ability of the students and their potential for gratification and advancement via the educational opportunity being offered. An instructor lacking sincerity loses credibility with students and builds antagonism toward learning.
2. **Be knowledgeable.** Acceptance and approval by the in-group leadership and sincerity on the part of the instructor is followed closely in importance by security in knowledge of the subject matter to be shared. Neither sham nor jargon is acceptable. Generally, a master teacher uses simple words. Whenever technical words are necessary, they are carefully introduced and defined, without condescension. It is important never to be afraid to say "I don't know, but we can find out," and then to follow through when that statement has been made. When these points are kept in mind, the instructor rarely needs the services of an interpreter.

   Questions posed by students should not be ignored. The more poorly phrased the query, the more likely that the student is confused and has not been able to keep up with the presentation.
3. **Be considerate.** Words should be chosen carefully. Some may be acceptable in one culture and not in another. For example, in some parts of remote Alaska, "John is **lost**" may be taken to mean that John has not attained salvation in the religious sense; whereas the speaker meant that John had missed a point. And "we'll **use** Jane to teach fur-sewing" is objectionable because **use** has a derogatory connotation when applied to people. One **uses** things. Also, metaphors, similes, and other figures of speech that do not emanate from or relate to the culture of the group should be avoided. The successful instructor respects the group enough to learn their ways so that com-

ns and explanations will aningful.
rt. Constant eye contact help the instructor to late receptivity and standing. A surprised or d expression may in- the use of a strange r of a word in a new con- Or perhaps too much has given too fast by the in- or. Adults are rarely in bit of formal learning or groove of books and g. It is likely that they ut in a full day's work or ey want to digest slowly new idea as it comes A blank look may be the of boredom, lack of com- nsion, or perhaps it is a signalling the point of tion; or it might indicate ed for rephrasing, ting, or expanding further eaning of a word or a con- No change of facial ex- on might denote that the nce has donned a mask their minds have gone here. If this happens fre- ly, the people may cease g—and what is an in- or without a class?
en a change of pace will reassemble the group— g a break, opening up discussion, inviting questions; or varying the teaching method by introducing a relevant demonstration, a movie, role-playing, small discussion groups, or other class-involvement techniques. Sometimes enough has been said and, if most of the time has been spent, "See you tomorrow" is in order. However, the instructor should generally respect the class commitment by using the allotted time. Gossip or chitchat has its place only as it aids in reaching established goals or in redefining those goals.

In teaching mining courses, Bill found that demonstrations, blackboard illustrations, laboratory experiments and pertinent movies provided additional channels to help students perceive and understand complex subject matter. Jean found role-playing much superior to small discussion groups. It worked best when she demonstrated role-playing by taking a minor role and having the students play the leads. Considerable thought and preparation were necessary, because all the parts ought to be short, pertinent, and clearly delineated, as well as appropriate to the culture and needs of the group. Role-playing can be easily tailored to fit the locale and the situations. It may be adapted to discussions of family relations, to consideration of why certain behavior is or is not acceptable, to leadership roles, and to related problems.

Few people are willing to admit failure or fault, and even less willing to discuss failures of family members, such as the fact that Aloysius is an alcoholic or that Stephanie needs to learn more about home-making. But role-playing makes it easy to discuss such behavior and what could be done about it, without mentioning real persons. These objective discussions are much less threatening and less judgmental than subjective ones. And discussions of abstract concepts happen more easily when hands are busy. Often, Jean's most successful communication took place while a button was being sewed, the bread kneaded, or the pressure cooker timed.

In summary, the instructor in cross-cultural education teaches most effectively when demonstrating sincerity and concern in a relaxed atmosphere of mutual respect and empathy, warmed by the exchange of knowledge.◄

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